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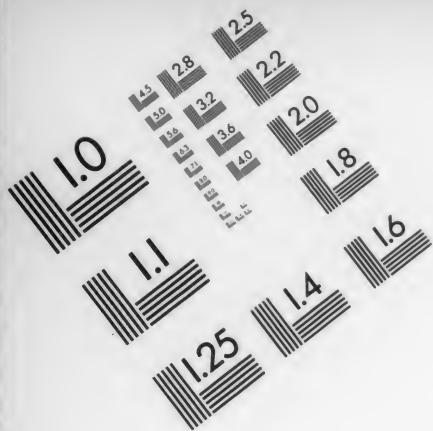
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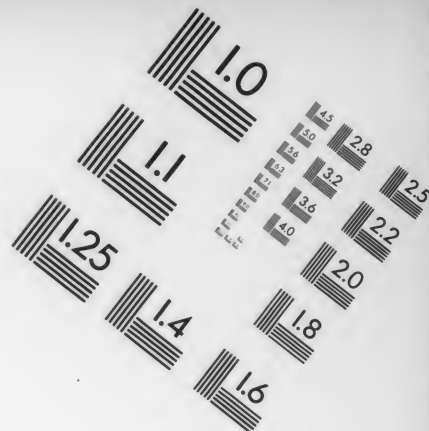
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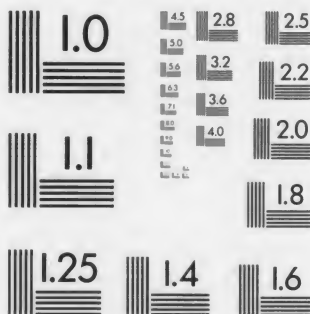
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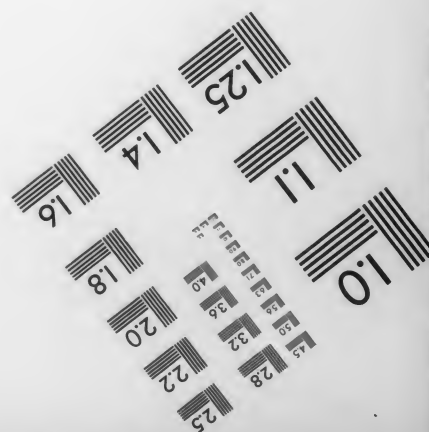
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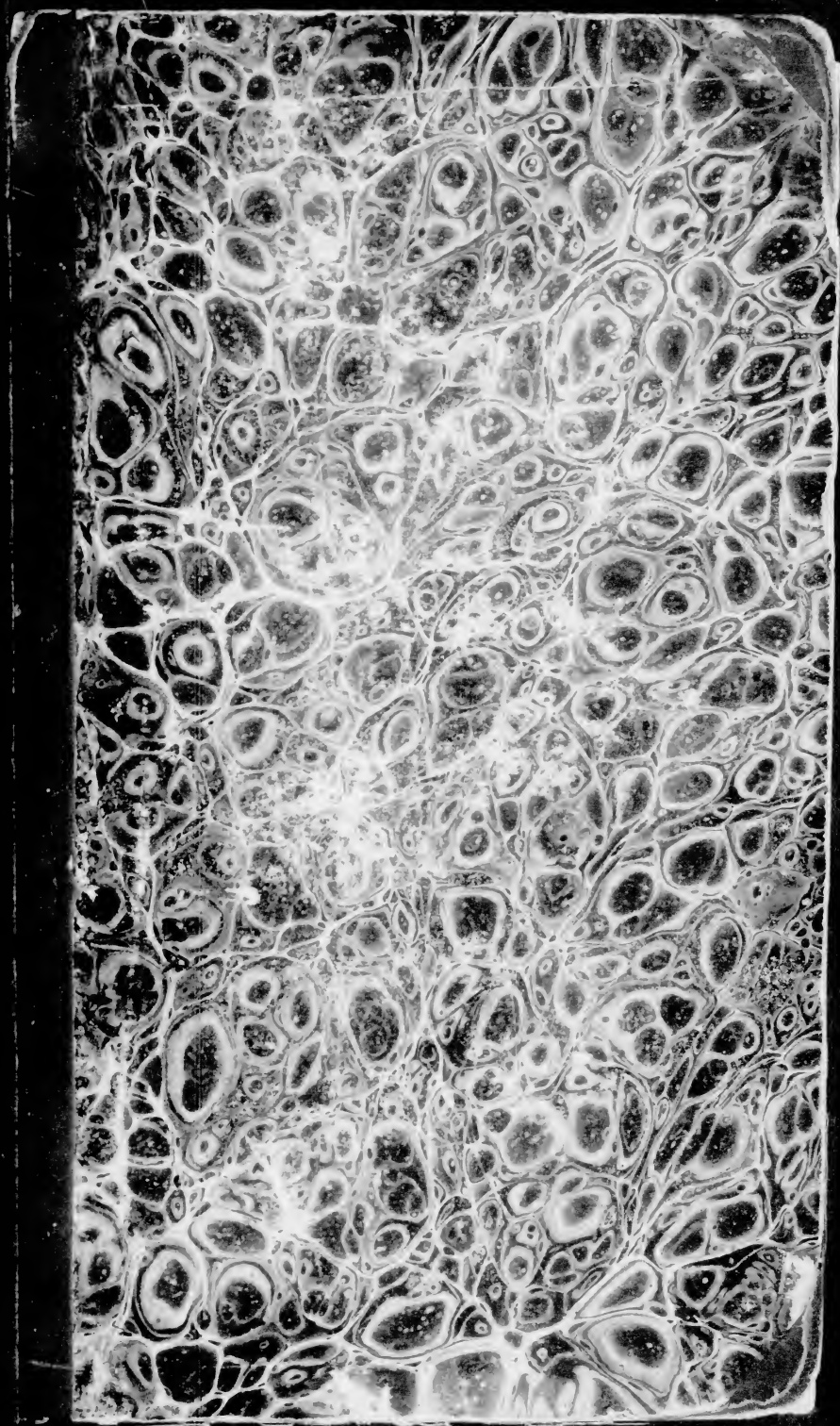


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STRONG REASONS
FOR REJECTING THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS,
&c.

STRONG REASONS
FOR REJECTING THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS;
AND
INCONTESTABLE PROOFS
THAT THE

POPISH RELIGION IS NOW AS IT EVER WAS,

Decidedly hostile to the Protestants,

WHOSE

TOTAL EXTERMINATION

ONE OF THE ROMISH BISHOPS HAS DECLARED TO BE

NEAR AT HAND.

"As to the *Papists*, their tenets are undoubtedly calculated for the introduction of all slavery, both *civil* and *religious*."
JUDGE BLACKSTONE.

Therefore, "To design the advancement of *Popery*, is to design the *ruin* of the *State*, and the destruction of the *Church*; it is to sacrifice the nation to a *double* slavery; to prepare chains both for their *bodies* and their *minds*."

BISHOP SHERLOCK.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. J. STOCKDALE, 41, PALL-MALL.

1813.



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SECTION I.

Introductory.

THE Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, undoubtedly, involves a question of the highest importance to the State. It is a question of the greatest magnitude which ever came before Parliament; and, I may add, that it is one in which every individual is interested, in a degree not immediately perceivable by superficial observers. This, therefore, would sufficiently justify any man in coming forward with such reflections, as he may conceive to be well founded, and worthy of attention; but, in truth, the conduct of the Petitioners themselves, has made it perfectly unnecessary to seek such justification; for, by the very terms in which their Petition is worded, and by the appeal which they make, not merely to the wisdom and liberality of Parliament, but to the broadest of principles, to justice, utility, and sound policy, in their fullest extent, they demand the strictest investigation. Nay, by the publicity which they have endeavoured to give to their claims, not only by printing and dispersing their Petition, but also by paragraphs and essays in the daily papers, or in separate publications, they provoke inquiry: and they even appear to rest their hopes of final success on the influence which the public opinion must always have upon the national

councils, in such a country of freedom as ours, and which they expect, in this instance, to be exerted in their behalf.

The importance of this question will be still more apparent, if we reflect on the consequences which must necessarily result from the ground on which it is rested; for, the Petitioners argue upon a system of comprehension the widest possible. It is one which, among other novelties, has, of late years, obtained a degree of popular favour, from its *seeming liberality*. Of this system, however; I beg leave to observe that the adoption, by the Petitioners, must unavoidably awaken suspicion; since it is wholly inconsistent with the religious principles in which they have been educated: and, if they are determined on maintaining it, they must, of course, maintain it in its utmost latitude; because it is plain, that, if they should succeed in obtaining their object, it will be impossible, at least for those who grant it, to contend, that any sort of restriction of the same nature can be continued upon any other description of his Majesty's subjects, or even upon his Majesty himself. It involves, therefore, in its consequences, a direct change of the Constitution, as settled at the glorious Revolution.

This, of itself, must prove, to every thinking man, that the matter is extremely momentous, and therefore should be maturely considered. It must also shew how necessary it is for every one who will judge rightly, to set himself above prejudice. He must neither be caught by specious professions, nor deterred by the fear of unjust reproach.

The author would scarcely have ventured to lay his thoughts before the public, on a subject which has so much engaged the attention of "the High Court of Parliament," if he had not consulted different books, and extracted from them what he judged more worthy of notice than his original matter. From the debates in the House, also, concerning the Catholic question, he has principally formed his opinions; and, having expressed these generally in the language of the learned speakers themselves, he trusts this will be considered rather as a strong recommendation than a disparagement of the work.

SECTION II.

The NATURAL RIGHTS of Man, and how far they may be exercised, when he is considered as incorporated with civil Society.

PRINCIPLES, destructive of all order and regularity, have, of late, spread their baneful influence through the United Kingdom; the consequence of which may, some time or other, be the horrors of a civil war. In this critical situation of affairs, it is the duty of every honest man to stand up in defence of our admirable political system, and to contribute, all in his power, to save his country from impending ruin. In order to effect this, the bulk of the people should be made acquainted with their real interest, and be persuaded against giving way to the insidious sophistry of visionary theorists, and the seductive arguments of ill-designing men, who, under plausible pretexts, are daily undermining our Constitution.

Among other pernicious opinions which have been industriously circulated, it has been often obtruded upon us, that *every man has a natural right to a share in the government of that civil community of which he is a member*. Hence, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in their Petition to Parliament, openly declare, that "their sole object is, to have an equal participation, upon equal terms, with their fellow-subjects, of the full benefit of the British Laws and Constitution." It therefore becomes highly necessary to consider narrowly what are *the absolute rights of man*.

"These," (says Judge Blackstone, in his celebrated Commentaries on the Laws of England,) "are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated *the natural liberty of mankind*, considered as free agents, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to them to be most desirable. This *natural liberty* consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law

of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free-will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up *a part of his natural liberty*, as the price of so valuable a purchase; for, the principal aim of society is, to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights, which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature; but which could not be preserved in peace, without that mutual assistance and intercourse, which is gained by the institution of friendly and social communities. Hence it follows, that the first and primary end of human laws is, to maintain and regulate these absolute rights of individuals. And, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, every man obliges himself to conform to those laws, which the community has thought proper to establish. And this species of *legal obedience and conformity* is infinitely more desirable, than that *wild and savage liberty* which is sacrificed to obtain it. For, no man, that considers a moment, would wish to retain the absolute and uncontrolled power of doing whatever he pleases; the consequence of which is, that every man would also have the same power; and then there would be no security to individuals in any of the enjoyments of life. *Political or civil liberty*, therefore, which is that of a member of society, is no other than *natural liberty, so far restrained by human laws* (and no farther) as is necessary and expedient for the *general advantage of the public*. Hence we may collect, that the law, which restrains a man from doing mischief to his fellow-citizens, though it diminishes the *natural*, increases the *civil liberty* of mankind.

"The idea and practice of this political or civil liberty flourish, in their highest vigour, in these kingdoms, where it falls little short of perfection, and can only be lost or destroyed by the folly or demerit of its owner; the legislature, and of course the laws of England, being peculiarly adapted to the preservation of this inestimable blessing, even in the meanest subject.

"The rights of the people of England may be reduced to three principal or primary articles; the right of *personal secu-*

riety, the right of *personal liberty*, and the right of *private property*: because, as there is no other known method of compulsion, or of abridging man's natural free-will, but by an infringement or diminution of one or other of these important rights, the preservation of these, inviolate, may justly be said to include the preservation of our civil immunities, in their largest and most extensive sense. And all these rights and liberties it is our birth-right to enjoy entire; unless where the laws of our country have laid them under *necessary restraints*—restraints in themselves so gentle and moderate, that no man of sense or probity would wish to see them slackened. For, all of us have it in our choice to do every thing that a good man would desire to do; and are restrained from nothing, but what would be pernicious either to ourselves, or our fellow-citizens. So that this review of our situation may fully justify the observation of a learned French author (Montesquieu), who hath not scrupled to profess, even in the very bosom of his native country, that *the English is the only nation in the world, where political or civil liberty is the direct end of its Constitution*. And, therefore, I shall close my remarks with the expiring wish of the famous Father Paul to his country, *ESTO PERPETUA!*"

From the preceding observations of the learned Judge, it clearly appears, that, to toleration in the exercise of his religion, to the security of his person, property, and natural liberty, every subject (except under imminent circumstances) has an *unquestionable right*: beyond this, the *claim of exercising political power* would lead to such an extent as to render it quite untenable.

The question, then, in this case, is not of *right*, but of *expediency*; and, surely, all well-ordered Governments are at liberty to impose any restrictions which they deem *necessary* for the security of the public good. This is a *right* which they *have* exercised, and *will* exercise, in defiance of all the new theories, in defiance of the doctrines of *the rights of man*.

Every society has an inherent right to frame such rules, and appoint such lawful means as it thinks best calculated for the

preservation of its existence and prosperity, and the promotion of those ends for which it was instituted. This every consistent Protestant will grant; for it is the unalienable right of private judgment, which must be allowed to all men in their *collective*, as well as *individual*, capacity.

If, therefore, every *community*, as well as every *private* person, has a natural principle of self-defence, which it is incumbent upon it to exert, in order to preserve itself from destruction; it must undeniably follow, that every attempt to commit violence upon, or make any innovations and alterations in, its undoubted rights and privileges, must be *an usurpation*, or *an illegal and unjust exertion of power*. It is an assumption of liberty, *subversive of society itself*, and *destructive of all liberty whatsoever*. It is to arrogate a liberty of overthrowing and destroying all fundamental laws, and regulations; whenever a favourable opportunity offers to carry into execution the dictates of private views.

I will endeavour to illustrate this matter by a very familiar and obvious instance. For a moment admit the supposition which is continually intruded upon us by our adversaries, namely, that of a *club in a village*, which has established rules of association. Others solicit admission into it. The proposal meets with the ready acquiescence of all the members, *upon condition of conformity with the regulations which they have fixed upon*. Their maxims of administration and management are produced for their subscription. The solicitors disapprove of the articles, and insist upon being gratified with an *alteration* of them. In this circumstance of the case, the president may be supposed to address them in such words as these: "Gentlemen, we cannot possibly comply with your requisition, as we believe the due observation of the *conditions* of our agreement *essential* and even *necessary*, to the existence and welfare of our society: and in this we follow the real and genuine dictates of our minds."

Now, have the members of this institution offered the petitioners any undue treatment, or injury? Have they deprived them of any *natural, unalienable, and inherent* rights? Surely

not—common sense revolts at the idea: but, on the contrary; the petitioners have treated the others with *indignity, insult*, and *outrage*, by demanding such a *change* as would be productive of *confusion, tumult and disorder*, and which might end in the *dissolution of their society*.

The point in question is exactly parallel: for, the Roman Catholics require the Legislature to favour them so far as to *alter their fundamental laws*, and thereby to *endanger the Constitution*. But how can this be expected!

They appear to entertain a notion common to many persons, that *power is a matter of property*; and that a man is as much entitled to a share in the Government, as he is to be the holder of lands and goods. But it should be remembered, that the grievance complained of is merely the exclusion from the great offices of State, and some of the subordinate places in the administration of justice, and, in some sort, from Corporations. This is treated as if the Petitioners were thereby deprived of their most valuable rights; whereas, if this exclusion be necessary for the maintenance of the State, it is even beneficial to the Petitioners themselves. Every body must know, that it is often expedient to take power out of the hands of the people, for their own sakes, lest they should abuse it to their own destruction, as well as to that of others. What incapacities and exclusions are there not created every time that a qualification for office is imposed? And yet who talks of this as an *injustice*? How many men, nay, how large a proportion of the people are cut off from sitting in Parliament, merely because they have not three hundred a year of landed property?

The matter in debate is simply this, whether there are *good grounds* for the restriction; for, if there be, it is not only *legal* but *equitable and just*.

What alone the generality of mankind are entitled to, is the due and regular administration of the laws; that they should be administered with impartiality, and a strict regard to justice. And, therefore, in the present imperfect state of our nature, it has been found conducive to this end, to devise and impose

certain *checks* upon the *governors* themselves, as well as upon the *governed*; so that not only the Parliament, but even the King, who is the head of the nation, cannot violate the laws with impunity.

I will not then allow the situation of the Petitioners to be what they state it, full of "manifold evils," "humiliating and ignominious;" a frustration "even of the privileges which they are capacitated to enjoy." A *disadvantage* it may be; but if so, it is one inseparable from the profession which they have chosen to adopt. They have subjected themselves to engagements, which materially interfere with their allegiance to their Sovereign, or, at least, are, or have been, supposed by the Legislature so to do.

The true question is, (as I have observed before,) whether this supposition be well founded; whether it ever was so; or, having once been so, whether it has now ceased to have a foundation?

The natural way of proving this, would be to shew from facts, that the State has actually never been put in danger by the Roman Catholics; that they never either rebelled or plotted against the Government; or that, if there have been any machinations of that sort, in which any of their body have been implicated, it has been simply as detached individuals, and not as men acting at all in concert, or under the influence of any common motive; more especially that their motives or conduct have been no way connected with their opinions in religious matters, or their dependence upon the Pope.

But this is a mode of proof which I presume the Petitioners will not attempt to give; because the historical annals, both of England and Ireland, would most effectually contradict, and confute it.

I shall conclude this part of the subject in the words of Bishop Newton: "Liberty is indeed a glorious thing; but to such a pitch is it now carried, that it is liberty *run mad*—it is *licentiousness*, and not *true liberty*. *Lawless* liberty is the *curse* of the land—liberty and law must stand or fall together."

SECTION III.

TOLERATION; *how far consistent with our civil Constitution, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion, to extend it to those of the Popish Communion.*

AN *intolerant* spirit, in matters which concern our souls, cannot be the spirit of Christ: for, when the blessed Author of our "pure and undefiled religion," (which breathes nothing but "peace upon earth and good will towards men,") first called his Apostles to promulge it, one of them thus addressed him: "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbid him, because he followeth not with us: but Jesus said unto him, *forbid him not*; for he that is not *against* us, is *for* us." Lu. ix. 49. Christians, therefore, of all denominations, should quietly permit each other to worship their "common Lord," according to the dictates of their own consciences. "To his own master" every man must "stand or fall;" and every man has an indubitable right to embrace, after much serious deliberation, whatever doctrines he judges to be most conformable to the word of God, without being responsible to any human tribunal.

"The Act of Toleration" (says Bishop Newton) "was one of the first fruits of the glorious Revolution. It may be considered as one of the corner-stones of our Constitution; and care ought to be taken how we remove it, or even meddle with its foundation." But he adds, "Whilst we allow free exercise of faith and opinion to all the different sects of religion, it should be under certain *limitations* and *restrictions*, for the safety of the Government established by law. Government ought to defend and protect *itself*, as well as *its subjects*; and nothing certainly is more fitting and reasonable, than that if any are suspected of bearing enmity to it, at the same time that they enjoy protection from it, they should give security for their good behaviour."

Let it be attentively observed, that when such *political* opinions are blended with the profession of Christianity, as are evidently calculated to overturn the *established* religion of the country we live in, and to render the *properties*, and even the *lives*, of its numerous adherents unsafe, it then becomes the indispensable duty of the magistrates and public ministers of that religion, to guard against the encroachments of these destructive opinions. While we abstain from meddling with the religion of others, we are certainly bound, both in policy and in conscience, to maintain our own.

Hence, in the year 1780, there was a "Protestant Association" formed; and, in their "Appeal to the People of Great Britain," they thus freely delivered their sentiments. "Alarmed at the indulgence granted to Papists, by the Acts lately passed in their favour, and well persuaded that the principles of Popery deserve no such encouragement from any Protestant state; we feel for ourselves, we tremble for posterity: and, having maturely deliberated on the consequences that most probably will result from this indulgence, we think it a duty we owe to religion and our country, to associate; and, by every lawful method, to procure a remedy for the evils apprehended from its operation, and to preserve the inestimable privileges, which, as Christians and members of society, we enjoy.

"If the doctrines held by Papists were confined to matters of opinion in religion, and did not include political tenets of the most dangerous tendency, they might expect the same connivance, which has generally been extended to other erroneous sects: they might bow down to their images, swallow the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, and amuse themselves with dreams of purgatory, without interruption: their ignorance and superstition would rather excite compassion, than expose them to the consequences of any Penal Statutes.

"But, when Papists thunder out their anathemas against all who will not submit to their creed—when their religious profession itself breathes the very spirit of persecution and

cruelty towards those whom they are pleased to style *Heretics*—when they believe that princes may be deposed, and their subjects massacred, for the good of the Church—avowing such principles as these, what security can be given to any state for their peaceable behaviour? And what claim can they have to unbounded toleration, under any *Protestant* Government?"

Dr. Haweis, who is one of the strongest advocates for tolerating all religious sects, whilst they "presume not to transgress the Civil Laws, or disturb the peace of the society in which they abide," concludes his Essay on the subject thus. "Let it be acknowledged as a truth highly honourable to the Church of England, as by law established, that scarce under any government has toleration been more generally and liberally allowed, than under its auspices, at this day. Thankful for the mercies we enjoy, every man of reflection, considering the years that are past, can hardly desire a *change*, whatever imperfections may be chargeable upon it. All human institutions have been imperfect—*alterations are dangerous*. None of our sectaries, when in power and office, have given a specimen of equal liberty."

One of the most judicious men that ever England produced, (John Locke,) in a long letter which he wrote and published, on the subject of *toleration*, allows it in its utmost latitude, not only to *all* the professors of the Christian revelation, but even to Heathens, Turks, and Jews, as far as their religious tenets and modes of worship are concerned. But though he declares, that "he esteems *toleration* to be the chief characteristic mark of the true Church," yet he strongly insists upon it, that if any notions be entertained which are injurious to Government, all those who hold them should be exempted, from the liberty given to others.

After first mentioning, that "no opinions contrary to human society, or to those moral rules which are necessary to the preservation of civil society, are to be tolerated by the magistrate," he then makes the following observation: "Another evil more dangerous to the commonwealth, is,

when men arrogate to themselves, and to those of their own sect, some peculiar prerogatives, covered over with a specious show of deceitful words, but in effect opposite to the civil rights of the community. For example. We cannot find that any sect teaches expressly, and openly, that men are not obliged to keep their promises; that princes may be dethroned by those who differ from them in religion; or that the dominion of all things belongs only to themselves. For, these things, proposed thus nakedly and plainly, would soon draw on them the eye and hand of the magistrate, and awaken all the care of the commonwealth to a watchfulness against the spreading of so dangerous an evil. But, nevertheless, we find those that say the same things, in other words. What else do they mean, who teach that *faith is not to be kept with heretics*? Their meaning, forsooth, is, that the privilege of breaking faith belongs unto themselves: for they declare all that are not of their communion to be *heretics*, or at least may declare them so when they think fit. What can be the meaning of their asserting, that *kings excommunicated forfeit their crowns and kingdoms*? It is evident that they thereby arrogate unto themselves the power of deposing kings; because they challenge the power of excommunication, as the peculiar right of their hierarchy. That *dominion is founded in grace*, is also an assertion, by which those that maintain it do plainly lay claim to the possession of all things. For they are not so wanting to themselves as not to believe, or at least as not to profess themselves to be truly pious and faithful. These, therefore, and the like, who attribute unto the faithful, religious, and orthodox (that is, in plain terms, unto themselves), any peculiar privilege or power above other mortals in civil concerns, or who, upon pretence of religion, do challenge any manner of authority over such as are not associated with them in their ecclesiastical communion; I say, these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate; as neither those that will not own and teach the duty of tolerating all men in matters of mere religion. For, what do all these and the like doctrines signify, but that those men

may be and are ready, upon any favourable occasion, to seize the government, and possess themselves of the estates and fortunes of their fellow-subjects; and that they only ask leave to be tolerated by the magistrates so long, until they find themselves strong enough to effect it?"

Let us now attend to the judgment of that great luminary, and shining ornament, of jurisprudence, Justice Blackstone, upon this interesting point. Speaking of the Protestant Dissenters, who, though "they had once, within the compass of the sixteenth century, effected the ruin of our Church and monarchy," yet, says he, "certainly our ancestors were mistaken, in their plans of *compulsion* and *intolerance*. The sin of schism, as such, is by no means the object of temporal coercion and punishment. If, through weakness of intellect, through mis-directed piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, or (which is often the case) through a prospect of secular advantage, in herding with a party, men quarrel with the Ecclesiastical Establishment, the civil magistrate has nothing to do with it, unless their tenets and practices are such as threaten ruin or disturbance to the State. He is bound indeed to protect the Established Church, by admitting none but its genuine members to offices of trust and emolument; for if every sect were to be indulged in a free communion of civil employments, the idea of a National Establishment would be at once destroyed, and the episcopal church be no longer the Church of England. But, this point being once secured, all persecution for diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom. The names and subordination of the clergy, the posture of devotion, the materials and colour of the ministers' garments, the joining in a known or unknown form of prayer, must be left to the option of every man's private judgment."

Again he says: "All persecution and oppression of weak consciences, on the score of religious persuasions, are highly unjustifiable, upon every principle of natural reason, civil liberty, or sound religion. But care must be taken not to

carry this indulgence into such an extreme, as may endanger the National Church; there is always a difference to be made between *tolerating* and *establishing*."

He further remarks, "what has been said of the Protestant Dissenters would hold equally strong for a general toleration of the Papists, provided their separation was founded only upon different opinions in religion, and their principles did not also extend to a subversion of the civil government. If once they could be brought to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, they might quietly enjoy their seven sacraments, their purgatory, and auricular confession, their worship of reliques and images, nay, even their transubstantiation. But, while they acknowledge a foreign power superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good subjects."

The present worthy Bishop of Durham, in the first debates on the Catholic question, expressed himself thus. "It is essential that we should resolve to preserve inviolate and sacred the principles of the Establishment, and to extend that toleration, forbearance, and Christian charity, which are its distinctive marks, to their utmost practicable limits. But, at the same time, let us pause, until we have well considered the guards which the law of the land has placed over our Establishment: and, whilst we sedulously grant every reasonable indulgence to the scruples of the conscientious, let us not attempt to break down, or even to weaken, any of the barriers of our religious and political constitution, but be determined to keep them *whole* and *entire*. For, if the bulwarks be in part removed, how will the other separated and insulated parts be protected? If, while it is entire and connected, it is the object of attack, if we have even now to exert ourselves in its defence and to rally round the citadel, to avert the danger which threatens it, what hope will remain to preserve it, in its broken and mutilated state?" He then concluded his speech in these striking words. "On these grounds," (he had mentioned many more than are here specified,) "I conceive the

Petition of the Roman Catholics to be inadmissible; and I feel myself compelled to reject it, from a sense of duty to the Established Church (which, in my conscience, I believe to be the best constituted Church which the world ever saw)---from a sense of duty to that civil form of Government under which I bless God that I was born and live---and from a sense of duty to my country."

To the same effect spoke the Archbishop of Canterbury. "I consider toleration," (said he,) "as the greatest ornament, and brightest grace of that reformed Church which is established in this kingdom, but cannot prevail upon myself to confound *toleration* with *equality*, much less with *power*, and *eventual superiority*. It was not a figure of rhetoric, but a plain fact, resting on historical evidence, that toleration is a virtue, growing naturally out of a sense of *security*, and cannot exist for a moment, where *danger* is apprehended. If, therefore, the Parliament should determine to destroy those fences which the wisdom and experience of our ancestors had, with so much deliberation and care, erected around the Established Church, it would then do *effectually* (though *unintentionally*, no doubt) all that was in its power to excite and provoke that bad spirit of animosity, and religious intolerance, that marked and disgraced the worst pages of English history, subsequent to the reformation. . . . Those who are tolerated cannot share the power of those who tolerate. . . . In the benevolent temper of our toleration, we do not restrain the exercise of any religious profession: but we feel and know that our own reformed religion is most congenial to the spirit of our free Constitution; that the protection of the one is the protection of the other; and, above all things, that it would not be safe to admit, within the pale of our government and legislature, a most numerous body of people, who profess a religion essentially adverse to our own. The tests prescribed by the wisdom of our predecessors had nothing to do with toleration; they were framed on the plain and evident presumption, that he who receives the sacrament of the Church is of the Church."

In this "enlightened age," (as many proudly call it) *liberal-*

ity is the order of the day, and *toleration* is now the great subject of debate both *in* Parliament and *out* of it. Nay, the Catholics themselves, who have been always reckoned (and very justly too) the most *bigoted* and *merciless* among all the various denominations of Christians, now put on the appearance of *moderation*, and *good-will* towards Protestants. Accordingly, in their Petition to Parliament, for what they call Catholic Emancipation, they "solemnly assure that Honourable House, that their earnest solicitude for it, at this peculiar crisis, arises principally from their anxious desire to extinguish all motives to disunion, and all means of exciting discontent"—and again, that "they are deeply anxious, at this moment, that a measure should be accomplished which will annihilate the principle of religious animosity, &c." Woult to God, that "the Ethiopian had changed his skin, and the leopard his spots!" But, alas, there is too much reason to fear that they continue just the same they were!

Shortly before the discussion of their Petition in the United Parliament, "Remarks" were published upon it, "by a Protestant from Ireland, on a visit to England." In the first page, he says:

"The writer of this pamphlet, little expected that, during a short visit to London, he should feel himself compelled to enter the lists of controversy; but, on looking over the Catholic Petition, and examining the sentiments it contains, he was not a little surprised, that the Protestants of Ireland, who have every opportunity of knowing, should be total strangers to the *liberal* sentiments professed by the Petitioners; and he was almost ready to enquire, if a new race of Roman Catholics had sprung up in Ireland, since he left that country---as they appeared of a very different stamp from any with whom he was acquainted."

This surprise was increased, on observing the names of the committee appointed to present this Petition; for there he found "the names of some, who, notwithstanding their high professions of *liberality* and *candour*, have but lately left it on record, that such are not in *reality* their virtues. Every

Protestant will soon be satisfied on this head, by reading Mr. Scully's work just published, and another by the Rev. Mr. Gahan, in Dublin, and printed by the printer to the Roman Catholic College. It will easily be perceived, from the perusal of these books, that the sentiments contained in the Petition, *are not* the sentiments of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, unless they have recanted and renounced those opinions, which they maintained only a few months since.

"It is well known, that Mr. Scully is one of the delegates nominated to superintend the management of the Petition in London, and that he lately wrote an Address to his Brethren in Ireland. I shall therefore give a few extracts from it, to let the Protestants in the united kingdoms see how far the sentiments, contained in the one, correspond with the other.

"In reading the Petition, one cannot help being struck with the greatest appearance of *moderation* and *unity*, and with the thought that several of the most obnoxious doctrines of Popery are abjured, and even declared '*not to be articles of the Catholic faith.*' Many decrees, of councils, however, and extracts from the most famous writers in the church of Rome, might be brought to prove, that these doctrines *have been imposed as articles of faith*: but, for the present, I shall confine myself to the examination of the sincerity of the professions made by the Petitioners, to liberality of sentiment, and their claim to further toleration.

"When Mr. Scully published his work, called, *An Irish Catholic's Advice to his Brethren*, I was led to expect that the contents would have corresponded with the motto he selected on the title page.---'I perceive no reason why men of different religious persuasions may not sit upon the same bench, deliberate in the same councils, or fight in the same ranks, as well as men of various and opposite opinions upon any controverted topic of natural philosophy, history, or ethics.' *Archdeacon Paley's Philosophy.*

"We know that toleration is odious to the intolerant; freedom to oppressors; property to robbers; and kinds and de-

grees of prosperity to the envious.'—*Burke's Speech in favour of Catholic Emancipation.*

"When men undertake to plead for *toleration*, they certainly should not make themselves appear *intolerant*. Now, if the Counsellor had been sincere in his professions of *liberality*, I cannot think that he would intimate (as he does in the above extract) that the members of the Established Church are *intolerant, envious, oppressors, and robbers*. Surely, he would not have endeavoured to hold up to contempt, a large number of *peaceable, loyal Protestant subjects* in Ireland, as a mark of *indignation* for *Catholic pikemen*; what *tolerant* spirit is it, to compare such to *plunderers, murderers, and invaders*? What *loyalty* and attachment is this to our *glorious Constitution*, when the immortal King William is styled a *DUTCH INVADER*, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland applauded for fighting against him, and in favour of the Popish Prince James? Let the reader judge from the following quotations, if such an address from a Catholic counsellor to his brethren in Ireland, is calculated to promote *harmony*; or, to use the language of the conclusion of the Petition, to 'annihilate the principle of religious animosity, and animate all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, in an enthusiastic defence of the best Constitution that has yet ever been established.'—Let Mr. Scully speak for himself.

"Page 12. 'It is now 112 years since the capitulation of Limerick to *William the Third*; it was the last place in Ireland or England that surrendered to him; and never was a place more gallantly and obstinately defended, than Limerick has been by our loyal ancestors; who, with *Sarsfield* at their head, fought for their hereditary King James, against a *DUTCH INVADER*, and his *hired battalions*. France had long amused the besieged with promises of succour,—no succour came, and the brave garrison, after enduring incredible hardships, were forced to give up, with breaking hearts, their last possession in their country; but not without having obtained, and deservedly, glorious terms of capitulation. *The*

French fleet came (as they have always come to THEIR FRIENDS,) when there was nothing to be done, when all was over.'

"Page 43. 'Oliver Cromwell (of infamous memory) brought over to Ireland a republican army of *pillaging, hypocritical, canting knaves*, similar in manners to the bands of *Swadlers** that now infest our towns.—They were the turbulent spirit, and the refuse of England at that time; *WRETCHES* whom 'no King could rule, no God could please.' You see what misery that army caused here—their tailors, tinkers, smiths, cobblers, drummers, and trumpeters, after the slaughter of one hundred thousand persons, obtained various estates and lands among us, while the native Protestants, who had invited them over, and the Catholics, who had NO crime to answer for, were trodden under foot by their invaders, and suffered to perish by their intestine feuds, unpitied in their disgrace, or neglected in their poverty. Even just so will the French invaders trample upon and despise us, if we do not drive them back into the ocean, like rats, as we are well able to do, IF we please.'

"That *Swadlers, or Methodists, or Protestant Dissenters*, are not the only people in Ireland for whom Mr. Scully has *no moderation*, is evident; for *Protestants of the Established Church*, are as much reproached, and as unjustly censured. In speaking of the loyal Protestant societies, or associations for the support of the Constitution, hear his language in page 95: 'A very small *faction* of our countrymen, composed (as all factions are) of some *knaves* and *more fools*, have thought proper to associate together, for the purpose of circumscribing the attributes of loyalty, and the number of the loyal.' These are said, 'by their temptations to sedition, to allure the rabble of one party'—'whilst they forbid the other, containing *four-fifths* of the population.' But who are these

"* As in England in general, many Protestant Dissenters, by way of reproach, are called *Methodists*, in Ireland, they are called *Swadlers*."

knaves and fools, that compose this faction in Ireland? Let Mr. Scully answer in the next page: 'I learn, from the authority of the most respectable men of all persuasions, that they profess the *Established religion*, as being the most wealthy, and the strongest, without possessing much of its mild and tolerant spirit, &c. I understand that they are generally men of *obscure origin, doubtful or desperate means, narrow intellects, no learning, without amenity in their manners, or sweetness in their temper*. Not possessing importance of themselves, they have recruited their lodges, by sounding the tocsin of *loyalty*, by raising a clamour of "Church in danger"—"Ascendency"—"King William"—"The Glorious Memory," and so forth. Not possessing much property themselves, they claim, in rebellion and warfare, to be the sole escorts of our property, and the sole sentinels of our laws; as if we knew not the value of our own property, of good order, and of wholesome laws.'

"In several pages following, the same *liberal* language is continued, and in the 83d page, we are even told, that the peasantry are driven by *them* to leave their homes, to escape apprehended assassination; to fly to the rebel ranks for shelter!!

"Any observation I may offer on these extracts will be short, as every person must see, that this Roman Catholic Counsellor pleads very hard against the *Protestants* of Ireland, notwithstanding he, with the Petitioners, do 'most solemnly assure Parliament, that their earnest solicitude for Emancipation, at this peculiar crisis, arises principally from their anxious desire to extinguish all motives to disunion, and all means of exciting discontent.'—I scarcely suppose the Petitioners themselves believe, that the Protestants in Ireland can give them credit for the *sincerity* of their *professions*, till their *actions* correspond therewith. Mr. Scully certainly may well call the members of the Established Church *fools* should they deliver up their arms to *Catholic Pikemen*, because they forsooth *most humbly* applied for them. The Irish Protestant *Swadlers*, also, must be wrapped up in

Catholic swadling-bands, and completely rocked to sleep, if, (when by this Roman Catholic Counsellor, and his associates, they are compared to *invaders, wretches, and murderers*, who ought to be driven into the ocean like rats,) they ever should believe the *conciliating* language of this Petition, or stand by consenting unto the death of that religion, which is the glory of our country, and from which we have derived all those advantages which have raised Great Britain so high among the nations. Contrast Our Country with any of those over which Rome sways her iron sceptre—their rack and wheel with *our* trial by jury—that spirit of free enquiry, which pervades all ranks, with the narrow fettered minds of the subjects of the See of Rome. Compare our doctrine, which presses the searching of the Scriptures upon Protestants as their duty, with theirs, which *forbids* it—and then judge of the propriety of Catholic Emancipation; of allowing men, with such principles, to become '*Masters of our affairs*,' as Bishop Taylor says, in his Dissuasive from Popery. Were the Counsellor as ready to put into the hands of his Catholic brethren, that *system of Christianity (not Popery)*, the Bible, which teaches 'peace upon earth, and good-will towards men,' as he is to furnish them with *hard speeches* and *vile epithets* against the Protestants, we might hope to see a spirit of brotherly love and good order prevail in that unhappy country.

"But the Counsellor, when pleading the cause of his *Loyal Catholic* brethren (the rebels), omits to *compliment* them in a similar strain. He complains of the cowardice and treachery of the French towards 1500 of them, in the year 1798; and instead of considering them as *rebels*, they are called BRAVE MEN—HIS HAPLESS COUNTRYMEN, and their death a BUTCHERY and MASSACRE. 'Those dishonoured fellows (the French) got quarters, (says he), and immediately saw with unconcern almost every man of those *poor Irish* BUTCHERED before their eyes. I have since been to the *field of massacre*, and was shewn the large pits, into which heaps of Irish carcasses were thrown, without the ordinary rites of Christian interment.' Perhaps the Counsellor may be

able to tell us, what Christian interment the hundred Protestants had, who were burnt in *Scolloboge Baru*, as no doubt he has seen the place so well known to *these dearly beloved brethren*, who were so much entitled to Christian interment? No doubt he intends getting a bill filed against his Majesty's army, for *butchering* these *loyal rebels*, when a *Catholic Grand Jury* is empanelled.

"Happy indeed would it be for the Protestants of Ireland, if the prejudices of their Roman Catholic neighbours were removed! If this was really the case, and their principles such as asserted to be in this Petition, we should not then hear of the midnight incendiary, consuming the well-earned substance of his neighbours, and either murdering Protestant families, or compelling them to leave their habitations."

We may now well exclaim in the language of David, "Lord, what is man!" For, notwithstanding the *bitter* and *cruel* spirit manifested by the generality of the Irish Papists, yet we find their brethren pleading for unbounded extension of their civil privileges, upon this ground, that they have been *peaceable* and *loyal* subjects. But it is truly surprising, that they who are most clamorous for complete toleration and liberty would not allow it to us (as we have every reason to believe) if the reins of government should ever be put into their hands. The experience of past ages fully demonstrates, that neither Papists nor Dissenters, when they gained the ascendancy, and were invested with juridical power, have indulged the Members of the Established Church with even the same toleration which is now extended to them: and yet, dissatisfied and impatient, yea, indignant at the very term of *toleration*, they would have *all restraints* entirely removed.

The following extract from an Act passed in the middle of the sixteenth century, speaks *too plainly* to require any comment. "It is hereby further ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that if any person or persons whatsoever, shall at any time or times hereafter use, or cause the afore-

said book of Common Prayer, to be used *in any church, chapel, or publique place of worship, or in any private place or family*, within the kingdom of England, or dominion of Wales, or port and town of Berwick, that then every such person so offending therein, shall for the *first offence* forfeit *five pounds* of lawful English Money, for the *second offence* the sum of *ten pounds*, and for the *third offence* shall suffer *one whole year's imprisonment*, without bail or mainprize." [Acts A. D. 1645, cap. 5, sect 4. See Scobell's edit. p. 79.]

Now, if the Independents, who were professed *Protestants*, could manifest such *intolerance*, what are we to expect from *Papists*, in case of any revolution in their favour? The correction of the one would appear as *tender mercy*, when compared with the heavy strokes of that *rod of iron*, with which the latter would rule over us.* If they suffered any of us to live, we should soon see an Inquisition in this land of liberty; and if we presumed to complain of the torments inflicted in it, we should be told, in the words of its bigoted and merciless advocates of old, "To deny that the Inquisition is a righteous tribunal, is heretical, because to doubt of the justice of its jurisdiction, is to doubt of that of the Pope. The truth is, that the Inquisitors are the sentinels of Heaven, the shepherds of the pontifical flock, the husbandmen of the fields of Christ. What wonder then, that the sentinels should be abhorred by the enemy whom they espy, the shepherd by the wolves whom he wounds, the husbandman by the tares which he plucks up! These *perverse dogs* do but bite the stone, which is the corner-stone of the faith, and bark at the rod of justice with which they are chastised."

It is worthy of remark, that when those who are hostile to our admirable Constitution, perceive, or think they perceive, any infringement made upon *their* rights, under the Act of Toleration, they instantly spread an alarm throughout the country, and unanimously stand up in defence of them. Scrupulously tenacious of *their* privileges, they

* Appendix, II.

resist the least appearance of an attempt against them; but, on the other hand, when the guardians of Government see the many bold attacks which are made upon it, and endeavour to ward them off, they are reputed, and called by its *enemies*, *il-liberal*, and *oppressive*. For using the same *caution* which the tolerated sectaries *think right to use*, the members of the Establishment are severely *condemned*. "But wisdom is justified of her children."

It was the observation of Solomon, the wisest of kings, "A *prudent* man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself; but the *simple* pass on, and are punished." Every *sensible* man, who is apprehensive of danger, will endeavour to secure himself against it; but the *foolish*, unapprized of the perils which await them, never look forward, nor consider consequences; and so go on thoughtlessly, till overtaken by the impending evil. To those who are advocates for the Catholics, I appeal, whether they do not enjoy more security for their liberty and property than the subjects of any other, the most favoured, nation on earth. Neither the French nor the Germans, in their own country, enjoy any thing comparable to it. But not satisfied with this, they claim a full equality in all civil and military offices; and that, for the benefit of a set of people who are hostile to Church and State. But who are they that claim this religious liberty?—the most intolerant set on the face of the earth; men more intolerant than the Mahometans. They allow to others no liberty of conscience whatever; and, even in the last acts of the Cortes of Spain, it was declared, that the Roman Catholic religion should be the sole religion of the country, and no other tolerated. This was lately asserted in the House of Commons.

Speaking of the Papists, Bishop Newton observes, "they are for a free toleration, and full liberty of conscience. But if they are such friends to it, why will they not allow it to others, as well as require it for themselves? Where is the reason, or justice, or equity, that they should expect the Established Church, to grant the same indulgence to them, which they deny to the Established Church?"

Beware, then, O *Protestants*, how you give the least encouragement to *Popery*! Wherever its adherents have had the supreme authority, they have always evinced, not only the most *overbearing*, but the most *sanguinary* spirit. Learn wisdom, therefore, from the experience of past ages.

As to religious opinions, and speculations of faith, which have no influence on the political conduct of men, united with their fellow-creatures in social life, it would be always improper to interfere with them: but where certain tenets are evidently inimical to Government, they become proper subjects for public interference and control.

Too much has been already granted to the Roman Catholics; therefore, take care how you allow them farther indulgence. Let them have the same liberty, civil and religious, which they had before the late acts passed in their favour; but let not a sword be put into their hands, which they may plunge into your own bowels. Upon no account (while they are obedient to the laws) let a hair of their head be hurt; but give them not the power of hurting you.

SECTION IV.

The inhuman scenes which Roman Catholics have acted should operate as a powerful warning to all Protestants, whether in the Established Church or out of it. The most spirited exertions necessary, at this critical moment, to prevent a repetition of the same bloody tragedy.

How different is the benign spirit of the *Protestant* religion from that of *Popery*! The *one*, in the wide-extended arms of truly Catholic love, embraces all mankind, even Jews, Turks, and infidels; and, accordingly, is now disseminating those "Scriptures which are able to make men wise unto salvation," through all the habitable parts of the globe: the *other* prevents even

those of their own communion from reading the word of the Lord; and, like the bigoted fiery Saul of Tarsus, "breathes out" nothing but "threatening and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus," who has expressly told us, that "he came into the world, not to *destroy* men's lives, but to save them." The *one* teaches us "to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us:" the *other* not only *allows*, but also *commands* its professors, to curse and excommunicate, with the most horrid forms and rites, all those whom, through infatuation and ignorance, they call *heretics*. The *one* only uses strong arguments from "the lively oracles" of God, to propagate Christian principles; and, by the mild arts of persuasion, endeavours "to convince gainsayers:" while the other, by unparalleled tortures by fire sword, "compels men to come" within its bloody pale.

Luther, in the account which he gives of the progress he made in the work of reformation, says, "When I began the affair of indulgences, at the very first, I was a monk and a most mad Papist. So intoxicated was I, and drenched in Papal dogmas, that I would have been ready at all times to murder, or assist others in murdering any person who should utter a syllable against the duty of obedience to the Pope. I was a complete Saul; and there are many such still."

Bishop Newton, also, after speaking of the artful methods taken by the Pope and his cardinals to establish their religion, adds, "Where policy and the arts of intrigue could not prevail, there *force* was called in; there the princes of their communion were stirred up to *arms*; there wholesome severities were applied, *rods*, and *gibbets*, *racking-wheels*, and *raging fires*. It is the doctrine of their Church, that, to root out and extirpate *heretics* (so they call all who differ from them), is to do God good service; and their *practice* has been altogether agreeable to their *principles*. For, any one ever so little versed in history, knows full well, that most of the horrid plots and conspiracies, most of the rebellions and treasons, most of the civil wars and massacres, which for a thousand years past, have shook the quiet of the West, have been contrived, fomented,

executed, by the priests and bigots of the Church of Rome; and, in what country of Europe have they not laid the scene of these bloody tragedies—in what age have they not acted and applauded them?"

Instead of praying with David, "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God," to commit this worst of crimes seems to be a rooted principle in them. Hence, the Romish clergy oblige themselves by oath, on their admission to their sacred functions, "to persecute and impugn, to the utmost of their power, all heretics, schismatics, and rebels to their lord, the Pope."*

But, surely, I may say to them, as our merciful Lord said to his Disciples, on a similar occasion, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to *destroy men's lives, but to save them*." Luke ix. 56.

Indeed, *persecution*, on the account of religion, is not only wicked, but highly absurd; because it defeats its own end: for, instead of reconciling the mind to any set of religious principles, it must excite the utmost horror and disgust. It may make hypocrites—it cannot make true converts—which must be the effect of *choice* alone.

The horrible effects of persecution by the Papists in foreign countries, but more especially in our own, ought to touch the tenderest feelings of every true Protestant. No language is sufficient to describe the injustice and barbarity of such a hellish spirit. To illustrate the truth of these observations, let us, for a moment turn our eyes to foreign countries; and what scenes of cruelty have been acted under the auspices of Popery!† How many have been tortured on the rack, or

* "Hæreticos, schismaticos, aut rebellos, eidem domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo." Pontif. Rom. Edit. Antwerp, A. D. 1626, p. 59 and 86.

† A great author, Father Paul, computes that, in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the Edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the Reformers, there had been 50,000 persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion. Hume's Hist. vol. iv. p. 419.

cruelly murdered in the cells of the Inquisition!* How many have been dragged forth to disgrace, what is called, in those unhappy countries, an *auto da fé*, an act of faith, but is rather an act of triumph over faith, humanity, and common sense. Is it not enough to condemn the innocent to flames, kindled by superstition; without leading them forth in mock processions, and clothing them with *san benitos*, or coats of devils, to expose them to the insults of a barbarous multitude?—But why do we speak of cruelty to individuals only? Let us call to remembrance the massacre at Paris, on the 24th of August, 1572. There Popery appeared in its true colours, “drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.” Whilst Popery has existence upon earth, let it be remembered, though to the disgrace of humanity; let it be remembered with horror, that on St. Bartholomew’s-day,† not

* See Appendix. Also, Stockdale’s History of the Inquisitions.

† On this occasion, twenty-five thousand, according to *Mezeray*; thirty, according to *Thuanus*, were barbarously murdered: among whom were five or six hundred noblemen, or gentlemen of the highest distinction. Such a complication of hellish doings (who could have thought it?) found panegyrists among the abettors of Popery: *Peter Charpentier* wrote an apology for it; *John Des Caurres* praised it in an ode: the most luxuriant encomiums were bestowed upon it, in a speech pronounced before *Philip II.* The Holy Father himself, *Gregory XIII.* (of infamous memory) was no sooner informed by Cardinal de Lorraine of this massacre, than he went in procession to St. Lewis’s church, where (*Quake thou, O Earth; tremble, ye Heavens; and ye Stars, withdraw your shining!*) he returned the merciful Maker and Redeemer of mankind, public and solemn thanks for that bloody work. Nay, that horrible transaction was represented at Rome, in a magnificent picture, with this inscription, *The triumph of the Church: which indeed was very proper, if it meant, The triumph of the Church of Rome over Christianity and humanity itself.* If these people did not glory in their shame, sure no others ever did. *Thuanus* shewed himself a much better man, when he applied to this tragedy the following lines of *Statius*:

Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula! certè nos taceamus, & obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.

only thousands of Protestants, but tens of thousands, were murdered in France in cold blood; suddenly massacred in their beds and houses, by the cruelty and treachery of their Popish fellow-subjects, at the very time they were apparently caressed and courted.

But to come nearer home. In England, where no Inquisition was suffered, Popery hath recorded her name in characters of blood. During the reign of queen Mary, how many of the most learned and pious men were brought to witness a good confession at the stake! The cruelty of Popish persecutors made no distinction of age or sex, learned or unlearned, noble or ignoble: all fell alike the victims of their un-discerning bigotry. Nay, horrible to mention! pregnant women were burnt alive. And in the island of Guernsey, a scene of almost incredible barbarity was acted: “A mother and her two daughters being committed to the flames, one of them being married, and in the last month of her pregnancy, was, by the violence of the pain, taken in labour, and brought forth an infant; which a humane bye-stander rescued from the fire: but, after some consultation, the magistrate, who superintended the execution, ordered the innocent to be thrown back into the flames; where it perished with the mother*,” concurring in opinion with Bellarmine, a cardinal of the first note, who says, “that if it were possible to root out heretics, without doubt they are to be destroyed *root and branch* †.”

Smithfield, Oxford, Cambridge, most of the public market-crosses, and many other places throughout the kingdom,

“May that day be never numbered among those that are past! May the cruelties, that were then committed, meet with no credit in following ages! At least, let us be sure, never to mention them ourselves, but suffer the crimes of our own nation to remain concealed under the veil of the darkest night!”

See *Bayle’s Dictionary*, Art. *Charpentier* N. C. and Art. *Caurres*. His *Critique générale du Calvinisme*, de Maimbourg, Lett. XXIV. p. 489, 490. *Larrey’s Réponse à l’Avis aux Réfugiés*, p. 275. *Courber’s History of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew*.

* *Smollet’s History of England*, vol. vi. † *Bellarmin. de laic.*

have a voice crying aloud to British Protestants, BEWARE OF POPERY; and bear an unanimous and irrefragable testimony, that Popery and unrestricted Toleration never can agree*. O Britons! let not the blood of the martyrs be forgotten, or their sufferings effaced from our memories, or from those of our children, to the latest posterity!

From England, let us pass to her sister kingdom, Ireland; and behold more recent displays of Popish cruelty! Is the memorable and lamentable æra of 1641 so soon forgotten, when the Papists endeavoured to extirpate the Protestants with fire, sword, and famine?

What were the maxims, at that time, loudly proclaimed by the Priests, when their intrigues for carrying on their intended massacre were ripe for execution? A true patriot would wish that they were posted up in every one of our streets, that people of all ranks and of all ages might read them. They were these†—"That PROTESTANTS WERE HERETICS NOT TO BE SUFFERED TO LIVE ANY LONGER AMONG ROMAN CATHOLICS. THAT IT WAS NO MORE SIN TO KILL AN ENGLISHMAN (viz. who was a Protestant) THAN TO KILL A DOG; and, that IT WAS A MOST MORTAL AND UNPARDONABLE SIN TO RELIEVE OR PROTECT ANY OF THEM." They acted accordingly, for, though the plot was discovered, time enough to prevent the bloody projected scene from taking place in Dublin, yet in the province of Ulster, and other parts of the kingdom, near *one hundred thousand Protestants* were butchered, with such circumstances of premeditated cruelty, as none but bigoted Papists could have conceived. Such spectacles of misery and distress must have softened any other hearts, however savage and uncultivated. Yet the Papists not only insulted them in their sufferings,

* Fox's Martyrology, and Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 337.

† Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 70. Also, the Sermon of Henry, Bishop of Dromore, preached the 23rd of Oct. 1733, on the deliverance of Ireland from Popery.

but triumphed in the hope, that the victims of their fury would be damned to all eternity*. The mind recoils from such scenes of barbarity with horror; and, upon a review of these melancholy facts, by what arguments from reason, justice, humanity or piety, can the unqualified toleration of such a religious (or, more properly speaking, *irreligious*) profession, be defended in any free and Protestant state?

The following singular circumstance was related to me by an Irish lady, on whose word I can fully rely. She and her husband lived in a part of Ireland, where there was not a genteel Protestant family within three miles of them; so that, for want of better company, they frequently asked the Popish priest, with whose drollery they were sometimes much entertained, to dinner. In the course of some years, it was currently reported, and believed, that the Pretender was coming with a powerful force to invade the kingdom, which caused great consternation and terror among the Protestants, especially in those parts, which were totally defenceless, and inhabited mostly by Papists. Accordingly, the lady said to this priest, one day, "Now, Father —, suppose the Pretender had landed, and was advancing at the head of a victorious army; though I know the Roman Catholics think it no sin to put heretics to death, when they have it in their power, yet I beg you will tell me, as an honest man, whether you would not spare me and Mr. G—— in the general massacre." "In troth, madam," said he, "it is not a fair question;" and after long evading to answer it, she at last pressed him hard, and assured him, she would not be offended, let him say what he would. Upon this, he answered, "Well, Mrs. G——, I must confess, that ever since you came to this parish, both you and Mr. G—— have treated me with great hospitality: many a good piece of beef I have eaten with you, and many a hearty good bowl of punch I have

* History of England, and Sir John Parson's History of this horrible massacre.

drank with you; therefore, as *friends*, I should be inclined to spare you, but, as *heretics*, I must destroy you."

Indeed, as to the persecuting spirit of Popery, it is to this day, and ever will be, *the same*. It cannot be otherwise, whilst its abettors maintain its two fundamental tenets, *Papal supremacy*, and *infallibility*: the apparent difference, between the present and past times, must be ascribed to that want of power which they formerly had, and which they are now so strenuously endeavouring to regain.

By rejecting their idolatrous superstition, and vain traditions, we became *heretics* and *schismatics*, in the judgment of the See of Rome: therefore, the Pope yearly excommunicates us as such, denounces the most dreadful curses against us, and declares our destruction to be a meritorious work! That all this is not mere form and ceremony, but a design zealously pursued, wherever it is practicable, is evident from the Inquisitions which are still kept up, and from the conduct of Papists, in all kingdoms, where their religion is unrestrained by law*.

Popery has long been chained in Britain: the consequences of loosing the fetters will be dreadful to posterity, as its principles remain the same. Popes, and general councils, are still *infallible*; and, as it is impossible for *infallibility* to err, Popery must necessarily be, in *future*, what it has been in the days which are *past*. Can we rationally suppose, that time has made the least alteration in them, or that *heresy* has grown less odious to them? By no means. It is only want of power, which prevents them from repeating the cruel and monstrous barbarities of their forefathers.

Far be it from us to make this merciless treatment of *our* brethren, the rule of our behaviour towards *their's*. "We have not so learned Christ," to think racks and fires a fit application to the *consciences* of Christians, or to reckon the *destruction* of their *bodies* a proper means for the *salvation* of their *souls*.

* Appendix.

But, surely, these cruelties towards *Protestants* in other nations, should make the *Papists* in our own more modest in their demands, and prevent them from thinking, that they were entitled to *new* and *unusual* liberties. And though the good-nature and religion of *Englishmen* forbid them to copy those savage examples, yet we may well be allowed so far to *observe* and *remember* them, as to be jealous of the growth of that religion among ourselves, which, in other countries, could animate the professors of it to burn and torture those of a different persuasion.

As Protestants, we are certainly concerned to secure ourselves and our posterity from *Popish persecution*. When we call to mind the Protestant blood which has been shed by Papists, not only in foreign countries, but at home, we cannot but be excited to use every legal expedient, to prevent the return of such a national calamity. For, should the Papists, in any future period, be possessed of *power*, we have every reason to apprehend that the same principles would be productive of the same effects. These principles they have never *publicly* disavowed; and, as Papists, they cannot, with consistency, disown: therefore, as they strike at our liberties and lives, to tolerate persons professing them (to the extent which they require) is to lay the axe to the root of our dearest privileges and most sacred rights.

I have been used to think, that it is unwise to make assertions so notoriously contrary to truth, that they can impose upon no man; and, surely, if ever any fact was established beyond the power of controversy, one would have thought that it must have been this of the persecuting spirit formally declared, and systematically acted upon, by the Romish Church. But, it seems, the Petitioners have now discovered that it is *all a calumny*; that, in truth, the Romish Church abominates all such doctrines: Thus, those very Parliaments of Ireland, which relaxed the laws in behalf of the Roman Catholics, which shewed them such favours, which are appealed to by themselves as vouchers for their loyalty and good conduct, are, by the most clear implication, ar-

raigned, as having adopted and countenanced a *falsehood*, and as having, under pretence of reports so unfounded, exacted from them an oath not only unnecessary and superfluous, but "painful to their feelings," and such as ought not therefore to have been imposed.

From authentic histories it clearly appears that Popes and Popish councils have authorized the cruelties inflicted by the Roman Catholics, in various ages, upon those whom they deemed to be heretics.—If it be contended that such is not the doctrine of the Romish Church at this moment, let me ask by what *Pope*, or by what *Council* it is abrogated, or how have these decrees lost their force? How have such practices been disclaimed or discountenanced? By what authority equal to that which passed, or which sanctioned them, has it been declared that these decrees and these practices are entirely laid aside?

Indeed, the more Popery is known, and the more seriously its principles and consequences are attended to, the more readily, it is hoped, every Protestant among us will join his head and heart, or (if need be) sacrifice his life and fortune, to keep it at the greatest distance from these kingdoms—to maintain the crown on the head of his present Majesty (the sincere *Defender of our holy faith*), and to transmit it to his latest posterity. Here lies our safety, our liberty, our welfare, our *all*. Here, God and men, nature and religion, our present and eternal happiness, public and private interest, our nearest and dearest relations, wives, children, friends, call aloud for our most vigorous joint-endeavours. Here, want of foresight, or of prudence, is *stupidity*—remissness in providing against danger, is *treason*—too great an indulgence for declared enemies, is *cruelty to ourselves*. Here, "whosoever is not *for us*, is *against us*"—whosoever stands *neuter*, is little better than a *rebel*.

SECTION V.

Popery hostile to Civil and Religious Liberty—while it acknowledges the sovereign jurisdiction of the Pope, and the power of Popish Priests to forgive the greatest enormities, it leads its Votaries, not only to break their promises and oaths, but to foment rebellion and murder. Its doctrines naturally tend to the subversion of every Protestant Government.

HAVING pointed out, in the preceding section, some of the horrible cruelties exercised by Papists, on those who have separated from them for conscience sake, I now proceed to shew, that it is incompatible with the preservation of our civil Constitution, to countenance Popery; because it not only enslaves the mind, but would bind nobles and people with the iron chains of despotism. It is a system convenient for tyrants. In this country, particularly, we have ever found it looking with a malignant aspect on *freedom*, and active in the retinue of *arbitrary power*.

Popery abhors *civil liberty*, because civil liberty is friendly to *liberty of conscience*: and it is a maxim of all Papists, from which they never can, consistently, depart, that "disobedience to the laws of the Pope and of the Church, not only excludes men from salvation, but is likewise a forfeiture of all civil rights and liberties whatsoever *."

* See No. 5, of Sir Richard Steel's Appendix to the Romish Ecclesiastical History, wherein are the following quotations:—"Heretics may lawfully be spoiled of their goods, though it be better to take them by authority."—"None are bound to restore what they have been intrusted with by heretics, or to perform any contract made with them."—By Pope Gregory the IXth's constitutions, "A man, by heresy, is deprived of all jurisdiction, whether natural, civil, or politic."—"Heretics may not be termed either children or kindred; but, according to the old law, thy hand shall be upon them to spill their blood."

As a convincing proof of this, we give the following anecdote

Inseparable, then, are Popery and slavery. An Inquisition in the *Church*, is a sure mark of slavery in the *State*. The liberties of England *grew up* with the Reformation, and will certainly *die* with it. When Papists got possession of the British throne, in the person of James II, our laws were presently suspended, our charters taken from us, and our whole Constitution subverted—the knife was at our throats; and the only choice which seemed left, was, to *turn* or *burn*. The populace were alarmed, and Protestants shook their chains and groaned for a deliverer, which God, of his infinite mercy, sent us, in the person of the great King William III, who rescued this nation from Popery, and all Europe from the fetters which a powerful and ruthless tyrant had prepared.

Hence it follows, that to allow Popery unrestrained power, is totally inconsistent with the safety of a *free* people, and a *Protestant* Government. For it is a certain fact, that the whole tendency of the Romish religion, is, to deprave the mind, and

dote: “*John Diazius*, a *Spaniard*, became a Protestant from reading the books of *Luther*. His brother *Alphonsus*, one of the Pope’s lawyers, hearing that his brother was turned Protestant, came with all speed into *Germany*, bringing a notorious cut-throat with him, resolving either to bring him back to Popery, or to destroy him.

“When *Alphonsus* came to *Ratisbon*, his brother *John* was gone to *Newberg*, about the printing of *Bucer’s* books, to which place *Alphonsus* followed him, and there they maintained many disputations upon religious matters; but *Alphonsus* finding his brother so stedfast in the belief of the truths of the gospel, that neither the Pope’s agent, by his promises or threats, could terrify him, nor he, by his persuasions and pretensions of brotherly love, could prevail upon him to return to Popery; he feigned to take a most friendly and affectionate leave of him, and departed; but soon he returned with his ruffianly murderer, and by the way they bought an hatchet of a carpenter. *Alphonsus* sent the ruffian in first, disguised, with letters to his brother, himself following behind; and while *John Diazius* was reading the letters, this bloody murderer cleft his head with the hatchet, and taking horse, they both rode away.”

Biograph. Evangel., Life of *Diazius*, published by Rev. Erasmus Middleton.

prepare it for the most abject captivity. The Popes have always been the most absolute of despots. The empire which they have established is over the mind—it commenced in fraud, and maintained itself by a system of ignorance, in requiring implicit obedience, and forbidding every sort of inquiry into the grounds upon which that obedience was exacted. How monstrous and groundless soever this empire may appear, it has had the most public and solemn sanctions of their Church.

In the *Lateran* Council it was decreed, “That the *Roman* High-Priest holds a primacy over the universal Church, as successor of *St. Peter*, prince of the Apostles; that he is the true lieutenant of Christ, and head of the Church; the father and doctor of all Christians, to whom all power is committed to feed, direct, and govern the Catholic Church under Christ.” Hence he claims the sole right of defining points of doctrine, and deciding controversies of faith, without liberty of appeal, even to a general council; and of binding and loosing, opening and shutting the gates of heaven at his pleasure. To secure these powers, with many others of the like extravagant nature, he exacts the most solemn oaths from his clergy, and particularly from the bishops, who swear, “To be faithful and obedient to *St. Peter*, and to the holy *Roman* Church, and our Lord the Pope his successor, to receive and execute all his commands, to discover all plots and conspiracies against him, to preserve and defend the royalties of *St. Peter* to the utmost of their power, and to persecute and oppose all heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said sovereign lord the Pope, or his successors.” So that all clergymen of the Church of Rome, not born within the verge of the Ecclesiastical State, are subjects of a foreign power, and bound by the most sacred ties to persecute even unto death (if in their power), all who profess a religion different from their own. Nor is less care taken to secure the allegiance of the lay-converts, who, upon their reception into the *Romish* communion, are obliged to make the following solemn profession of their faith: “I acknowledge the holy, catholic, apostolic *Roman* Church, for the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise true obedience to

the bishop of *Rome*, successor to St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ; and I do undoubtedly receive and profess all other things defined and declared by the sacred canons, general councils, and particularly the Council of *Trent*, and I do anathematize all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized."

This is the current doctrine of the *Roman Church*, which no man can reject, without being reputed an enemy to the Apostolic See; and it is esteemed of such importance, that Pope *Boniface VIII.*, in one of his decrees, has declared and pronounced it *necessary to salvation*.

Now, upon the principles of common sense, with what propriety can any Prince give the least encouragement to the members of the Church of *Rome*, while they own a superior head, who claims a power of absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and of excommunicating, and even murdering their sovereign. And, as this pretended authority is chiefly exerted by the Pope against *Protestant* kings, so are their people prepared to receive, approve, and execute his sentences, by another infamous doctrine, that "*no faith is to be kept with heretics.*"* To what seditious and cruel attempts, these principles have blown up some of the infatuated zealots of that Church, none can be ignorant, but those who are unacquainted with the history of Great Britain.

As to the conduct of the Papists in 1715, the following preamble of an act of Parliament, made immediately after the suppression of that unnatural rebellion, will be the best evidence of the opinion our ancestors entertained of the principles of Popery, and of the *disloyalty* of the Papists on that occasion.—"Whereas the Papists within this kingdom, notwithstanding the tender regard that hath been shewn them for many years last past, by omitting to put in execution the many penal laws, which (on occasion of the many just provocations they

* Appendix, III.

have given, and horrid designs they have framed *for the destruction of this kingdom, and the extirpation of the Protestant religion*) have been made against them; and notwithstanding they have enjoyed, and do still enjoy, the protection and benefit of the Government, as well as the rest of his Majesty's subjects, have *all, or the greatest part of them*, been concerned in stirring up and supporting the *late unnatural rebellion, for the dethroning and murdering his most sacred Majesty; for destroying our present happy establishment; for settling a Popish pretender upon the throne of this kingdom; for the destruction of the Protestant religion, and the cruel murdering and massacring its professors*, by which they have brought a vast expence upon this nation: And whereas it manifestly appears by their behaviour, that *they take upon themselves to be obliged by the principles they profess, to be enemies to his Majesty, and to the present happy establishment, and watch for all opportunities of fomenting and stirring up new rebellions and disturbances within the kingdom, and of INVITING FOREIGNERS TO INVADE IT:* And for as much as it is highly reasonable, that they should contribute a large share to all such extraordinary expences, as are or shall be brought upon this kingdom by their *treachery and instigation*; and to end, that by paying largely to the late great expences *by them brought upon this nation*, they may be deterred, *if possible*, from the like offences for the future," &c. Geo. I. stat. 2. c. 25.

It is also expressly mentioned in our statutes, that the design "*of the wicked, horrid, and unnatural rebellion in 1745, was to depose and murder his most sacred Majesty, to set up a POPISH PRETENDER, bred up and instructed in Romish superstition and arbitrary principles, on the throne, to the utter destruction of the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this free Constitution.*" From this it evidently appears, that *so late as the year 1745*, Popery and arbitrary power were, in the judgment of our forefathers, inseparably connected: and whether any, *but Papists*, would have attempted to depose and murder king George II, of glorious memory—to set up a Popish pretender, and utterly to destroy the Protestant religion, and

the laws and liberties of this free Constitution, let the Protestants of Great Britain determine.

But if we even allow, that some of the Roman Catholic may be now well-disposed to submit to "kings, and all that are in authority, and to lead a quiet and peaceable life" under them, yet, should the Pope, who is the supreme head of their Church, order any thing to be done which militates against the interest of the King (who is the *visible* head of our Establishment), must not their loyalty be exposed to a very strong temptation? Will not their allegiance be actually divided? Only one half of it can be paid to their natural sovereign; and the part which is paid to a foreign potentate, is that part to which most importance is to be attached: for it is that part which is connected with the strongest feelings of the human mind, with those which most decidedly influence their conduct, whenever they are sincere; and which in fact, experience teaches us, do so operate on Roman Catholics in a surprising degree.

It must certainly be granted, that there are some creeds which tend more than others to make men good subjects, and to prepare them for obedience to the laws. But of all systems of religion there is none which tends so directly as the Roman Catholic, to subject the civil concerns of a man to the control of his spiritual rulers. The very obligation to confess to them, and to receive from them absolution, for what they shall pronounce to be sin*; the very circumstance of the Pope reserving to himself, or at least to the Church, exclusively to determine what actions are good, and what are bad, what is true and what is false doctrine, the denying to the individuals every exercise of their judgment in these cases, must surely have the effect of establishing an empire over the mind, as absolute as extensive. Let a man only consider the consequences that result from the doctrine of purgatory, masses

* Let it not be forgotten that the infallibility of councils and the Pope extends not only to matters of *Faith* but of *Morality*. So assert Dr. Troy, Messrs. Plowden, and Dr. Milner.

for the dead, indulgences and absolution in all their forms, with the commutation which is allowed for every sort of penance, whether in money or by other services, not forgetting the order for persecuting heretics—add to this, the granting or withholding of those sacraments which are considered as indispensable; and further, that all these are at the disposal and in the power of the Pope, or of those deputed by him: and then let it be considered whether it be possible that such an authority should not influence the public as well as private life of the individual.

What, in fact, is the information which history gives us in this respect? What is the language of the Popes themselves?

By Pius V. our Elizabeth was solemnly excommunicated, and by that excommunication her subjects were absolved from their allegiance, simply because she was a heretic: and every man who acted contrary to that bull, (that is, who after that continued to pay allegiance to her,) was declared to be implicated in that excommunication*.

In consequence of this, we know what numbers of plots and conspiracies were hatched against her by Roman Catholics, who, in so doing, might well plead, that they only followed the dictates of their conscience.

But to put this point in a still clearer light, let us turn to the transactions of the next reign. After the memorable gunpowder-plot was discovered and defeated, the Parliament (by Stat. 3. Jac. c. 4.) gave authority to justices and others, to require of Popish Recusants to take an oath of *obedience*, as it was called. It is observable, that this oath (which must have been framed in tenderness to Papists) took no notice at all of the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs; it only required an acknowledgment that James was "lawful and rightful King of this realm, &c. and that the Pope, neither by himself, or by any authority of the Church or See

* Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv.

of Rome, &c. had power to depose the King, &c." Then follows the abjuration of the doctrine, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, and a declaration that the Pope has not power to absolve from that oath. Now, in all this what was there contained that was in the least derogatory to the Pope's authority in spiritual matters? What was there different from what the Petitioners profess at this day*? Yet so far was the Pope from admitting the oath to be proper, or renouncing the pretensions which were condemned in it, that Paul V. immediately published a bull, declaring that no Roman Catholic could take it without breaking the Catholic faith, and endangering his soul. ("Salvâ Catholica fide et salute animarum vestrarum†.")

And because, I suppose, sufficient deference was not paid to this, another bull was issued to the same effect, in the year following‡. Twenty years after this, the same injunction was repeated in another bull issued by Urban VIII., and one passage of this deserves particular attention, for it says, that this is not a question about an oath of allegiance to the King, but whether the holy sceptre of the universal Church shall be wrested from the vicars of Almighty God. ["Sed utrum sacrum universæ ecclesiæ sceptrum eripiat vicariis Omnipotentis Dei §."]]

Let us add to this, the bulls issued in the time of Elizabeth, to the Irish rebels, granting them indulgences and absolution as a reward for their rebellion, all which shew the utmost deliberation and determination to act upon the authority claimed by the Popes.

Shall I be told that these doctrines and these pretensions

* Fuller, in his Church History, b. 10. p. 42, tells us, that "this oath was devised to discriminate the pernicious from the peaceable Papists." "Nothing could be better understood than the determination of the Pope upon this, for it produced a long controversy." See Fuller, ib.

† Wilkins's Concil. vol. iv. p. 430.

‡ Ib. 431.

§ Ib. 471.

are no longer maintained? Then I ask, where, or by whom, are they renounced, or declared to be departed from? So far from it, has not, almost in these our days, (in 1768,) the same objection been made against any oath of allegiance to a Protestant King by a Pope's legate, and recorded and enforced by a titular bishop of Cloyne, with a recognition of the doctrines of the Council of Constance in their full extent? When, in 1791, the leading lay Roman Catholics of England drew up a declaration, renouncing some of the most obnoxious tenets of their Church, was not their conduct disapproved by the vicars apostolic †?

Still, therefore, the doctrines continue to be the doctrines of the Romish Church; nor need we be surprised, if, upon an army of twenty thousand Frenchmen landing in Ireland, we should find them armed with a bull of a similar nature with that which was issued against Elizabeth, or with that which was granted to Tyrone, or Shawn O'Neil. We must be prepared, also, to find among the misguided multitude of Ireland, numbers who would act upon such a bull with as much fury and zeal as any of the persecutors of the thirteenth century.

In the year 1780, the Rev. J. Wesley addressed "A Letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, occasioned by the late Act, passed in favour of Popery," wherein he expresses himself thus. "With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as boundless a freedom in religion, as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point: I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the word of God. I consider not, whether the Romish religion be true or false; I build nothing on one or the other supposition. Therefore, away with all your common-place declamation about intol-

* See Sir Richard Musgrave, vol. i. p. 46.

† See Catholic Emancipation, and the only manner by which it can be effected pointed out; second edit. p. 41. Stockdale, Pall-Mall.

rance and persecution for religion! Suppose every word of Pope *Pius's* creed to be true; suppose the Council of *Trent* to have been *infallible*: yet, I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

"I prove this by a plain argument; (let him answer it that can.)—That no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance or peaceable behaviour, I prove thus. It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by a public Council, that "No faith is to be kept with heretics."* This has been openly avowed by the Council of *Constance*; but it never was openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the Church of *Rome*. But as long as it is so, nothing can be more plain, than that the members of that Church can give no reasonable security to any Government, of their allegiance or peaceable behaviour. Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any Government, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan.

"You may say, 'Nay, but they will take an oath of alle-

* Many of the modern Roman Catholics, (to their shame be it spoken!) deny that such a decree was ever made. But whoever consults Father L'Abbé's *Concilia Maxima*, printed at Paris, in 1672, will find it there recited at large. "The last volume contains a particular account of the Council of *Constance*; one of whose decrees is, that "heretics ought to be put to death, *non obstantibus salvis conductibus imperatorum regum, &c.*, notwithstanding the public faith engaged to them in the most solemn manner."—Yet, Dr. Milner, in his "Serious Examination," scruples not to tell us (p. 16) that the Court of *Constance* had nothing to do with the burning of John Huss. "That matter lies between the Emperor Sigismund and the magistrates of the free city of *Constance*. The former furnished him with a travelling pass, the latter executed him by virtue of the old laws of the empire."—So then, the Council of *Constance* was entirely out of the question!! What abominable equivocation! If a Romish Bishop dares to say this in the face of day, to the British public, what will he not say in his confessional, to the unfortunate bigots who are to be led by him!

giance.' True, five hundred oaths; but the maxim, '*No faith is to be kept with heretics,*' sweeps them all away as a spider's web. So that still, no governors that are not Roman Catholics, can have any security of their allegiance.

"Again, those who acknowledge the *spiritual power* of the Pope can give no security of their allegiance to any Government; but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this; therefore, they can give no security for their allegiance.

"The power of granting *pardons* for all sins, past, present, and to come, is, and has been, for many centuries, one branch of his *spiritual power*.

"But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power, can give no security for their allegiance; since they believe the Pope can pardon rebellions, high-treason, and all other sins whatsoever.

"The power of *dispensing* with any promise, oath or vow, is another branch of the *spiritual power* of the Pope. And all who acknowledge his spiritual power, must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the *dispensing power* of the Pope, can give no security of his allegiance to any Government.

"Oaths and promises are none; they are light as air; a dispensation makes them all null and void.

"Nay, not only the Pope, but even a Priest, has *power to pardon sins*!—This is an essential doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. But they that acknowledge this, cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any Government. Oaths are no security at all; for the priest can pardon both perjury and high-treason.

"Setting then religion aside, it is plain, that, upon principles of reason, no Government ought to tolerate men, who cannot give any security to that Government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. But this no Romanist can do, not only while he holds, that '*no faith is to be kept with heretics,*' but so long as he acknowledges either priestly absolution, or the *spiritual power* of the Pope."

Upon this letter, Mr. O'Leary, a Capuchin friar in Dublin,

published some remarks, in which (as Mr. Wesley observed) "he only opposed drollery and low wit to argument, which moved him to *tears*, rather than to laughter." And then, in his serious reply, he says, "I plead for the safety of my country, yea, for the children that are yet unborn. But still, I would not have the Roman Catholics persecuted at all. I abhor the thought—it is foreign to all I have preached and wrote. I would wish them to be treated with the same lenity that they have been these 60 years—to be allowed the same civil and religious liberties, but not to undermine *ours*. I would only have them hindered from doing hurt to others. I would not put it in their power (and I do not wish that others should) to cut the throats of their quiet neighbours."

It is, indeed, far from the temper of the English, and the nature of our Constitution, to make men *suffer* upon bare presumptions: but, at the same time, the regard we owe to ourselves and to our Constitution, calls upon us to be very *watchful*, when we are sure there is an *enemy* within our gates. When we find such a spirit moving among us, it behoves us to observe narrowly *which way* it moves, and to *what degrees*; that it may be kept under such restraints, as the safety of Church and State shall require. Their principles in effect declare, and the most of us are abundantly convinced, that whatever *strength* they have will be employed against us, whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself: it therefore nearly concerns us, to know the *extent* of that strength, and to be jealous of the *increase* of it. It is the voice of the nation, that we have no *present* nor *future* security, under God, but in the prosperity of his Majesty's Government, and the succession in the *Protestant* line. How then can we answer it to ourselves, our posterity, or our religion, if we make it not our utmost care, that they who, we are confident, have it in their *will*, have it not also in their *power*, to undermine or overturn these foundations of our safety! As they are totally opposite to us both in religion and polity, and in all their measures and designs, the consequence of this opposition is,

that what *they gain*, we *lose*—whatever accession of strength or spirits we suffer them to get, are all drained out of our own body.

Let it also be observed, that every proselyte *they* make, immediately becomes *our* professed enemy, not only in religion but in policy too; listing himself at the same time under two foreign heads, one in the *Church* and the other in the *State*. And it generally happens, that such converts are remarkably *active* and *furios* in the cause they have espoused: whether it is, that fickle minds are naturally fond of *new* things, or that they think it for their honour to make a show of a *thorough* conviction.

Lord *Ellenborough*, (so eminently skilled in the profession of the law,) when the debates on the Catholic Petition took place, thus delivered his sentiments on the points treated of in this section.

"Catholic Emancipation (as it is improperly called, if that term is meant to designate any slavish subjection as still subsisting on their part, either in respect of person, property, or the profession of religious faith, or the exercise of religious worship) has been fully attained. The only remaining emancipation which they are capable of receiving, must be acquired by an act of their own, by redeeming themselves from the foreign bondage under which they and their ancestors have long unworthily groaned, and from which the State, as it has neither imposed nor continued it, has no adequate means of relieving them, consistently with the duty of self-preservation which it owes to itself. Every State, claiming and exercising independent powers of sovereignty, has incidentally belonging to it, as such, the power of binding its subjects by laws of its own, not only paramount to, but exclusive of, any authority or control to be exercised by any other State whatsoever. In so far as any foreign State or person is allowed to exercise an authority, breaking in upon this exclusive and independent power of legislation; and enforcement of authority in another State, to that extent such State, so entrenched upon, is not *sovereign* and *independent*, but admits itself to be *subordinate*

to, and *dependant upon* the other. The declaration contained in the oath of supremacy, which expresses a denial and renunciation of the existence of any power and authority, in respect of ecclesiastical and spiritual matters in any foreign State, potentate, or person whatsoever, is but the affirmance of a proposition, which is logically and politically true, as an essential principle of independent sovereignty, applicable not to this Government only, but to every other Government under the sun, which claims to possess and exercise the powers of independent sovereignty.

“It is not only true, as a maxim of Government, but essentially necessary to be insisted and acted upon also, in all cases in which obedience may be questionable, in order to give the State that assurance and test which it has a right to require and receive from its subjects, of their entire submission and fidelity in all matters to which the power and authority of the State can extend.

“But, it is said, that what is prayed by this Petition is not a matter which impugns the authority of the State in matters to which its authority extends: that the reserve made by our Roman Catholic brethren is only in favour of matters which concern God and their own consciences; matters of mere abstract faith, and mental persuasion. *That*, however, is not so; the Pope, in virtue of his general spiritual authority, claims authority in matters of *morals* (*i. e.* of moral conduct, and which extends to all the acts of man) as well as in matters of *mere faith*: he claims and habitually exercises, on some subjects, a power of dispensing with oaths, and in that respect of nullifying all human sanctions whatsoever, as far as they affect the conscience through the medium of oaths; he claims and exercises by himself, and delegates to others, an effectual, or supposed effectual power of absolution. What fatal effects that power, as exercised by the Roman Catholic priesthood, and applied to a credulous multitude, is capable of producing upon the civil and political condition of that community in which it is allowed to prevail, let the recent experience of Ireland during the late rebellion attest, where wretches, reek-

ing with the blood of their murdered countrymen, have been purified from the guilt of past atrocities, and prepared for the commission of new, by the all-atoning virtues of Popish absolution; such a power as this over the conscience, engrosses and directs more than half the faculties and energy of the entire man, &c.—But, besides the spiritual power thus capable of being, and thus being in fact abused, the ecclesiastical power of the Church of Rome over its obedient sons is enormous. It establishes and sustains, in the instance of Ireland, an hierarchy dependent on the See of Rome, as to the original nomination and subsequent control of its bishops and pastors, through the medium of which it enforces an obedience not in *matters of faith only*, but in *temporal acts and concerns* immediately connected with the duties and habits of ordinary life; not only in the payment of money for the maintenance of the local ecclesiastical establishment, or for such other purposes connected with their political œconomy as may be thought fit by the same authority to be enjoined, but in the performance also of rites and ceremonies, particularly that of marriage, from which all civil rites originate, and which they enjoin to be performed by their own ministers exclusively, thereby *ousting the law of the land, and endangering or destroying the legitimacy of its subjects, and all rights of descent, inheritance, and representation founded thereon*. The power of excommunication is, in the hands of their Clergy, a most powerful and dangerous engine, not of *spiritual and ecclesiastical* only, but of *temporal* power. It acts at once upon all the comforts of domestic and social life in this world, and upon all the hopes and expectations of happiness in that which is to come. With what harshness and rigour, and with what daring defiance of the established law of the land, this most operative power of interdiction has been recently applied, not to a few individuals only, but to large multitudes of people, a noble and learned lord detailed to us on a former evening.

“These are a few and but a few of the practical civil inconveniences which might be instanced, as derived to the State and its subjects from the authority of the See of Rome, spi-

ritual and ecclesiastical, as it is exercised over the sons of its Church; producing, as it does, a distracted allegiance in the same person, acknowledging and living under the temporal power of one sovereign, and bound in faith and morals by the authority of another, claiming to be his spiritual guide and governor, his ecclesiastical sovereign, and in effect, in all matters of supreme conscientious concernment, God's vicegerent and representative on earth."

After such irrefragable arguments as these, it is to be hoped that both Houses of Parliament, and especially the Lords spiritual, will resolutely withstand every attempt which may be made in favour of the Roman Catholics.

"In Henry the Sixth's time," even when Popery was the established religion, Judge Blackstone informs us, that "the Archbishop of Canterbury was ever a firm opposer of the usurped power of the Pope in this realm. And, particularly, in the reign of Henry the Fifth, he prevented the King's brother from being then made a cardinal, and legate *a latere* from the Pope; upon the mere principle of its being within the mischief of papal provisions, and derogatory from the liberties of the English Church and Nation. For, as he expressed himself to the King in his letter upon that subject, 'he was bound to oppose it by his ligeance, and also to quit himself to God, and the Church of this land, of which God and the King had made him governor.' He also refused to obey the commands of Pope Martin V., who had required him to exert his endeavours to repeal the statute of *præmunire*,"* ('*execrabile illud statutum*,') (as the holy father phrases it); which refusal so far exasperated the Court of Rome against him, that at length the Pope issued a bulle to suspend him from his office and au-

* "The statutes of *præmunire* and provisors were made to restrain the usurpations of the Pope; and this is the original meaning of the offence which we call *præmunire*; viz. introducing a foreign power into this land, and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process, which constitutionally belonged to the King alone, long before the Reformation, in the reign of Henry the Eighth."

thority, which the Archbishop disregarded, and appealed to a general Council. And so sensible were the nation of their primate's merits, that the Lords spiritual and temporal, and also the university of Oxford, wrote letters to the Pope in his defence; and the House of Commons addressed the King, to send an ambassador forthwith to his Holiness, on behalf of the Archbishop, who had incurred the displeasure of the Pope for opposing the excessive power of the Court of Rome."*

Here, indeed, is an example worthy of imitation. May it be conscientiously followed by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the right reverend bench of Bishops, and also by the Lords temporal!

Every Roman Catholic, professing allegiance to a foreign power, must be, at least, a *secret* enemy to his King and country: and if men's principles would lead them to rebellion, surely Government should be on its guard against them, and be resolved to protect and preserve itself.

Such, in fact, is the general spirit of the Romish Church, and such is the tendency of all the institutions and doctrines which are peculiar to it, that it never can with safety be admitted to more than a toleration in a Protestant State. It is but sound policy, therefore, to discourage the extension of those institutions and those doctrines. It is most peculiarly wise and even indispensable, in a state which is so free as this is, and where every man has, or may have, so much influence upon the administration of public affairs.

Under an arbitrary government, such as that of Russia, and some others, the Roman Catholics may perhaps be left without any restriction, because, in the appointment or removal of his ministers or servants, from the highest to the lowest, the Sovereign is under no sort of control. Not only he may remove from office, but he may imprison or banish, or even put to death, an individual who shall disturb his government, with-

* Wilk. *Concil. Mag. Br.* vol. 3. passim, and Dr. Duck's *Life of Archbishop Chichele*, who was the prelate here spoken of, and the munificent founder of All Souls college in Oxford.

out any of those forms, without any of that public and direct proof, which in this kingdom are required to be adduced and observed, before a man can be put under restraint, or even stopped in his machinations against the State.* In this country therefore, common prudence renders it necessary to prevent, by restrictions and disabilities imposed by law, a danger which cannot thus be summarily obviated, or effectually kept under.

Such at least was the reasoning of our ancestors when they enacted the laws from the operation of which the Petitioners require, nay, claim as their right, to be relieved. And it must not be forgotten by those who seek to be informed on the subject, that it is the institution of our ancestors, at the very period when our liberties were most clearly defined and established, which are now brought into question; and that if indeed the members of the Romish Church have been made subject to "† humiliation and ignominy," this was so settled by those very statesmen whom we have been used to venerate as models of political wisdom, and as being equally enlightened and liberal.

They thought it, I repeat, not safe, and not even compatible with the existence of a Protestant Church in this country, that members of the Romish persuasion should be allowed to have any share, either directly or indirectly, in the administration of even the lowest departments in the State. They did it upon good grounds; they did it after abundant experience of the mischief which was produced in their time, by the existence within the realm of a body of men, who were avowedly hostile to one part of its Constitution, and whose consciences were, by the very nature of their religion, subjected to the

* This is evidently spoken of the *general* course of justice: and must be taken to be true, notwithstanding the statutes which occasionally pass for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Proclamation of Martial Law, &c. These are exceptions which only prove the rule. The relief sought for by the Petitioners is against the *general* law of the kingdom.

† Petition, p. 12.

will and control of a foreign potentate, most directly interested in subverting the Government, as it was, and is, established.

By the laws of this realm, as it has existed ever since the Reformation, the King is declared to be the head (the temporal head) of the Church as well as of the State. There is no Roman Catholic that does not consider this as a direct usurpation upon the lawful power of the Pope: it is a fundamental doctrine of his Church: and, whenever an opportunity has been given, there is not an individual of that communion who has not shewn that he viewed it in that light.

This of itself must awaken suspicion; and that suspicion assumes a very serious character, when we consider, that the foreign power which has thus, in the opinion of the members of the Romish Church, been dispossessed of his right, is one who, in all ages, has been remarkably tenacious of his pretensions, however founded, or under what circumstances soever set up; that he has scrupled no means by which he could procure them to be established. In the present instance, he has certainly exerted himself to keep that part of the nation which owned his sway, distinct and separate, and even at enmity with the other.

It was not till after the clearest proof of the existence of this dangerous spirit in its full force, not till after conspiracies against the State of the most atrocious sort had been discovered, that the first penal or restrictive laws were made against the Roman Catholics; and more especially in Ireland, which is the country of the Petitioners: the late system was not established until the experience of many years, and I believe near two centuries, had shewn the necessity that existed for guarding against the consequences of the Papal supremacy, as it operated upon the minds of every member of that communion.

SECTION VI.

The protestations of the Roman Catholic Petitioners, in behalf of themselves and of their Brethren, respecting the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, and priestly absolution, not to be depended on; because it has been always the custom of the Church of Rome, when invested with power, to break through their most solemn engagements with Protestant States, to depose their Princes, and persecute their heretical Subjects, even unto death.

It is not improbable, that there may be many well-meaning and unsuspecting persons, according to the fashion of the times, who will join the Petitioners, in condemning the reflections made in the preceding section, as illiberal and unjust. They will reprobate the narrow ideas of the author, and oppose to *his*, the more enlightened policy cried up by the Roman Catholics, and the strong language in which they disclaim every intention to subvert the national Establishment, either in Church or State. They will refer us to the Petition itself, wherein several of the leading principles of Popery (in the opinion of Protestants) are publicly disavowed, in the most solemn manner, as forming any part of the Catholic creed.

The language, it must be owned, is so strong, and, in general, so unequivocal and positive, that I do not wonder such numbers are imposed upon by it, and even induced to conclude that the Papists have been most falsely accused, and that the principles imputed to them have never been actually held by their Church. That they may not complain of injustice, or misrepresentation, I shall now lay before the reader their own awful protestations.

“ The humble Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of them-

selves, and of others of his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion,

“ Sheweth,

“ That your Petitioners are stedfastly attached to the person, family, and government of their most gracious Sovereign; that they are impressed with sentiments of affectionate gratitude for the benignant laws which have been enacted for meliorating their condition, during his paternal reign; and and that they contemplate, with rational and decided predilection, the admirable principles of the British Constitution.

“ Your Petitioners most humbly state, that they have solemnly and publicly taken the oaths prescribed by law to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, as tests of political and moral principles; and they confidently appeal to the sufferings which they have long endured, and the sacrifices which they still make, rather than violate their consciences (by taking oaths of a religious or spiritual import contrary to their belief), as decisive proofs of their profound and scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath.

“ Your Petitioners beg leave to represent, that, by these awful tests, they bind themselves in the presence of the All-seeing Deity, whom all classes of Christians adore, to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their most gracious Sovereign Lord, King George the Third, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity, to do their utmost endeavours to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them, and faithfully to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of their power, the succession to the crown in his Majesty's family against any person or persons whatsoever;” that “ they renounce and abjure obedience and allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm; that it is unchristian and impious to believe that it is lawful in any ways to injure any person whatsoever under pretence of their being heretics, and also

that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; that it is no article of their faith, and that they renounce and reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever—that they do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction within this realm—that they firmly believe that no act, in itself, unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused, by or under pretence or colour that it was done for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, and that it is not an article of the Catholic faith; neither are they thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible, or that they are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct any such order; but on the contrary, they hold that it would be sinful to pay any respect or obedience thereto; that they do not believe that any sins committed by them, can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatever, but that any person who receives absolution for the same without a sincere sorrow for them, and a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt and to atone to God, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament;” and by the same solemn obligation, they are bound and firmly pledged, “to defend to the utmost of their power the settlement and arrangement of property in their country, as established by the laws now in being; that they have disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjured any intention to subvert the present church-establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead;” and they have also solemnly sworn, “that they will not exercise any privilege, to which they are or may be entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in Ireland.”

“They can,” also, “with perfect truth affirm, that the

political and moral principles which are by these tests asserted, are not only conformable to their opinions and habits, but are expressly inculcated by the religion which they profess.”

Further, “they most explicitly declare, that they do not seek or wish, in the remotest degree, to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, immunities, possessions, or revenues, appertaining to the Bishops and Clergy of the Protestant religion, as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or to any of them.” They also “beg leave most humbly to observe, that they might well and justly insist upon the firm and unabated loyalty of his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects to their most gracious sovereign; their profound respect to the legislature, and their dutiful submission to the laws—and that they are deeply anxious, at this moment, that a measure should be accomplished, which will annihilate the principle of religious animosity, and animate all descriptions of his Majesty’s subjects in an enthusiastic defence of the best Constitution that has ever yet been established”—and therefore “they most humbly trust, that his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects, holding those principles, will be considered as subjects upon whose fidelity the State may repose the firmest reliance.”

How plausible is all this! And are there any who will dare to call their veracity in question? Can even one be found so uncharitable as not to give them full credit? Yes—there is *one* at least—and I may venture to affirm that there are thousands more. For my part, I scruple not to say, that I am “slow of heart to believe all,” they have thus so positively stated. I cannot yield implicit assent, and I will give my reasons, after making a few preliminary remarks.

The Petition has been subscribed by ninety-one persons; of these six are *peers*, three are *baronets*, the rest *untitled commoners*. Of the six *peers*, one is an *English* as well as an *Irish* peer, who has no property in Ireland, and is an Englishman both by birth and residence. With what propriety therefore this *English* peer can be styled a Roman Catholic of *Ireland*, I shall not take upon me to determine. Of the remaining five

peers, three may be said to have been created during his present Majesty's reign. Lord Kenmare claimed a peerage under a patent of King James II. dated after the abdication of that unfortunate prince, at a time when he was no longer a king, and could not create nobility: his present Majesty has been pleased to create him a peer. The ancestors of two others, the Lords Fingal and Gormanstown, were attainted for high treason on outlawries; which attainders continued for four generations. His present Majesty was graciously pleased to direct his attorney-general in Ireland to confess error in these outlawries, on which confession, the outlawries have been reversed, and these noblemen have been restored to the rank of their ancestors. Lord Southwell's ancestors were *Protestants*; his father some time since went to France, and there became a *Roman Catholic*, and educated his son in that profession. Thus it appears, that the whole Roman Catholic nobility of Ireland, a few years back, did not exceed one or two at the most. I mention this, merely to shew what little cause of complaint there is, for the alleged degradation of the Roman Catholic nobility of that kingdom. Of the three *baronets* who signed the Petition, two have been created by his present Majesty.

Ireland is divided into thirty-two counties: out of *nineteen* of these counties there is not *one* subscriber; and out of four of the remaining thirteen counties there is but *one* each. Neither is there the signature of one Romish ecclesiastic to the Petition*. How then does it appear that these Petitioners are

* The Petition contains a long statement of what the subscribers declare to be their "political and moral principles," and openly maintains, that such principles "are not only conformable to their opinions and habits, but are *expressly inculcated by the religion which they profess*:" and yet, not one of their *bishops*, nor even of their *priests*, has put his name to it; the reason for which I suppose to be this.

In 1793, in order to qualify any of the Roman Catholics for obtaining places under government, or tendering their votes at elections for members of Parliament, the law required them to take an oath, whereby they renounce the infallibility of the

commissioned by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, or those of England and Scotland, to petition on *their* behalf, or to express their political or moral principles? It is much to be suspected that they are self-commissioned, as well by what has been already observed, as by the following circumstance: five of the subscribers have set themselves forth as delegated by the rest, to procure the presentment of this Petition to the two Houses of Parliament, and solicit its success: of these, one is

Pope; the power of the priest to give absolution unconditionally; the intention of subverting the present church-establishment, and substituting a Roman establishment in its stead; of overturning the present arrangement of property in Ireland, and of using the power and privileges demanded by the Romanists, to weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in Ireland: And, so far as it relates merely to religious opinions, is the same oath which was drawn up by a Committee of English Romanists, in the year 1790, to be offered to the English ministry at that time, as a proper oath to be administered to all English Romanists; and the taking thereof to be sanctioned by an Act of Parliament. This oath, however, three out of the four Apostolic Vicars, the special agents and emissaries of the Pope in England, reprobated and anathematized, by an encyclical letter, dated London, Jan. 12, 1791, and commanded all the English Romanists to reject this oath; stating, that they thus acted with the approbation of the Apostolic See, and of all the Romish bishops in Scotland and in Ireland. And these Vicars had so much influence with the Ministry, that they prevailed upon them to expunge from the oath prescribed by the statute, *the abjuration of the Pope's infallibility, and of the doctrine of unconditional power in the priest to absolve*. It is also to be remarked, that all the Professors and members of the College of Maynooth in Ireland, (founded by Government for the education of Romish priests) are, by an Irish statute, exempted from the obligation of taking the oath of 1793.

Is it not hence clear, that since no Popish Ecclesiastic has subscribed the Petition, containing an abjuration of the Pope's infallibility, &c. the Petitioners *cannot be sincere* in declaring, that "they are not required by the Catholic faith to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible?" They must know that their priests *profess* at least to believe that he is, and, consequently, that their religion obliges them to inculcate the doctrine,

Mr. Denys Scully, barrister at law, who published in the year 1803 a pamphlet in Dublin, entitled, "An Irish Catholic's Advice to his Brethren how to estimate their present Situation, and repel French Invasion, civil Wars, and Slavery." This pamphlet advises the Irish Romanists, in the event of an invasion by the French, rather to join the King's standard, than that of Bonaparte, *solely* on the ground of such conduct being more for their *advantage*, and not at all on the ground of their *allegiance* due to their Sovereign. And notwithstanding the specious title of the work, the whole tenor of it is, in my opinion, by the suggestion of ideal grievances, in the most horrid forms, to excite the Romish populace to the most furious acts of insurrection and revenge against their *governors*; so that the advice to resist Bonaparte seems to be merely an artifice to protect the author from the legal punishment due to so malignant, vindictive, and atrocious an attack on the conduct of the *Protestant Government* of Ireland, for two centuries past. The pamphlet overflows with gall; it will be sufficient to extract a passage or two, to give the reader a just idea of its real purpose and tendency. "Limerick was the last place that surrendered to William III; and never was any place more gallantly and obstinately defended than Limerick had been by our *loyal* ancestors, who, with Sarsfield at their head, fought for their *hereditary King James* against a *Dutch invader* and his *hired battalions*."—Page 12, Dublin edition.

Writing of the gallant army which went to Ireland to punish the Irish rebels and murderers of 1641, he has the following passage: "You see what misery that army caused her: their tailors, tinkers, smiths, cobblers, drummers, and trumpeters, after the slaughter of one hundred thousand persons, obtained various estates and lands amongst us." It is to be remarked, that the superior officers of this gallant army thus reviled by Mr. Scully, were the chief instruments in restoring Ireland to the monarchy of England, and that their descendants at this day compose a most considerable part of the Irish nobility and gentry.

In another place, Mr. Scully calls the Irish parliament a *club*, and the place of their meeting their *club-house*. He also gives the following character of the person he styles the first magistrate: "That he may be liable, like the master of a family, to fits of anger, and caprice, and prejudice; that he may naturally be at times obstinate, ill-humoured, improvident, or even infatuated upon some particular subjects." And, adverting to the coronation oath, and to his Majesty's scruples on the score of that oath, respecting the demands made by the Irish Romanists, he undertakes to apologize for his Majesty, and to express his hope that the King will change the opinion which it is generally understood he has entertained. "It is not," says he, "to be imagined that a quibbling crotchet in an oath will circumscribe the justice of the beneficent father of his people."—Can it therefore be imagined, that Mr. Scully is a person specially commissioned by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to solicit the success of a Petition to the representative body of the nation, claiming a right to be put upon an equal footing, in respect to political privileges, with all other his Majesty's subjects, and demanding such boon, on the score of their alleged *loyalty*, and *attachment to the State*?

I shall now proceed to assign particularly some reasons which have strongly induced me to discredit the avowed principles of the Petitioners: and, indeed, at such a critical time as this, it becomes every honest man to speak out freely.

In the first place, then, it appears to me, that their professions are not to be depended on, as they bear a mark of falsehood on the very face of them. For, how can these Petitioners affirm, with any show of truth, "in behalf of themselves and other Roman Catholics, that they might well and justly insist upon their profound respect for the Legislature," when, at the same time they complain of "the many incapacities and inconveniences avowedly inflicted upon them by the statutes" of that Legislature, and when, accordingly, they "most earnestly solicit the attention of the honourable House to the humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach, and suspicion, which those statutes generate, and

keep alive"? Or, how can "they justly insist upon their dutiful submission to the laws," when they have been acting in open opposition to them, and defiance of them, and have consequently been *condemned* by the Judges in Court, who had previously informed them, that their conventions and committees were *illegal*—and when they also well know that many thousands of the lower ranks among their brethren, have been engaged, for a series of years past, in nocturnal depredations, assassinations, conspiracies, and rebellions; and that even some of their *priests* have fomented sedition and bloodshed, and have openly appeared in arms?

Again—with what sincerity can they declare, that they have a "rational and decided predilection for the admirable principles of the British Constitution," and pronounce it "the best that has ever yet been established," when, in the same Petition, they speak of its "hostile spirit," whereby "they are shut out from almost all the honours, dignities, and offices of trust and emolument in the State, from rank and distinction in his Majesty's Army and Navy, and even from the lowest situations and franchises in the several cities and corporate towns throughout his Majesty's dominions"—when they confess that "they severely feel the interdiction of those of their communion, from all municipal stations, from the franchises of all guilds and corporations, and from the patronages and benefits annexed to those situations;" and that, "in consequence of their exclusion from the offices of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, and of the hostile spirit of the statutes, they do not fully enjoy certain other inestimable privileges of the British Constitution, which the law has most jealously maintained and secured to their fellow-subjects," the Protestants—and therefore, "that those manifold incapacities, restraints, and privations, are hurtful and vexatious to their feelings"? Thus they pretend to speak, in the highest terms of approbation, of "the admirable principles of our Constitution," and, with the same breath, exclaim against its *injustice and severity* towards them:

and as to the King's *supremacy*, which is an essential part of "the British Constitution," they utterly disclaim it.

I now go on to the consideration of other circumstances, which sufficiently evince the *insincerity* of those Lords and Gentlemen who signed the Petition.

Now are not they a very small part, indeed, of the body for whom they answer, or rather should answer? According to their own calculations, they are but a 40,000th part. How, then, is it possible, that they should answer for the great mass of their Irish Brethren, whose ignorance, bigotry, and cruelty, no man of honesty will deny to be both extreme and gross? At the conclusion of the late rebellions in Ireland, we were told by the Romish priests, in excuse for themselves, that they could not restrain the insurgents from committing the abominable excesses of which they were guilty. Can it then be imagined, that these private Gentlemen and temporal Lords will be equal to the task? And, truly, they seemed so sensible of the impropriety of supposing, that the generality of the Catholics coincided in sentiments with them, that they subscribed the Petition "in behalf of themselves, and" (mark it well!) "of *others* of his Majesty's subjects, professing the Roman Catholic Religion." Were they not conscious that a numerous majority of them held contrary opinions, they would have subscribed in behalf of *all* his Majesty's Catholic subjects: but, as they could not do this with the least consistency, we see how *artfully* they expressed themselves on the occasion.

It is well known, also, how strongly self-interest will operate, and incline men, even against the remonstrances of conscience, to forge infamous falsehoods, and even to perjure themselves in a court of justice. Is it not then possible, that some of the Petitioners at least may have been tempted to deceive others, by the most specious, counterfeit professions of candour and truth? especially, when they are well assured, that they cannot otherwise obtain the accomplishment of their ambitious wishes? That secular aggrandizement is their aim, cannot be doubted, when we

consider their own express declarations in the Petition—that, “by virtue of divers statutes now in force, they are denied the capacity of sitting or voting in either of the honourable Houses of Parliament; that they are interdicted from all municipal stations, from the franchises of all guilds and corporations, and from *the patronage and benefits* annexed to those situations—that they are incapacitated and disqualified from holding or exercising the offices of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, and various offices of *trust, honour, and emolument* in the State, in his Majesty’s military and naval service, and in the administration of the laws.”

After this, should a *false politeness* prevent us from suspecting them of *sinister* designs? It may be often said, *Decipimur specie recti*.

Besides, when we reflect on the horrid spirit of the Romish religion, that it allows not only *deceit*, but even private *assassinations*, and public *massacres*, if *the good of the Church* may be thereby promoted, why should we, from *mistaken delicacy*, think and believe that its members are not at all actuated by such motives? If great private advantages, as well as general benefit to their Church, are to be derived from authorized fraud and treachery, is it any wonder that they should put on a mask, in order to effect these desirable purposes?

But even *supposing* that the disavowal of some of the most shocking tenets of their Church were not intended to serve their own private ends, yet, such a disavowal of a *few individuals* can give us no assurance that the *See of Rome*, under whose jurisdiction they are, has imbibed the same principles.

That their Bishops and Priests do not consider them *sincere*, in the declarations they have made, seems clear: for, if they *did*, they would have been inflamed with rage, and have viewed them in the same light with *Protestants*. As *heretics*, in denying several of the doctrines maintained by their Councils, but particularly the *infallibility* of the Pope, they would have immediately threatened them with excommunication, and would have put their menaces into execu-

tion, if such apostates from the faith persisted in their schismatical errors. At any rate they are expressly, (though unintentionally,) pronounced to be either *deluded revolters*, from the Catholic Church, or else *wilful deceivers*, by one of their own Bishops, and others of their communion; for, Dr. Troy and Mr. Plowden maintain, that “if any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that modern Roman Catholics differ, *in one iota*, from their ancestors, he either deceives himself, or wishes to deceive others.”

Moreover, by the oaths which they have taken, the Petitioners virtually convict their Church of a continued system of imposture, of having prostituted the authority of religion to the most infamous schemes of worldly ambition; and yet (strange to tell!) they continue members of that Church. There is no article of their religion, (the invocation of saints, communion in *one* kind, purgatory, and transubstantiation itself,) which is more solemnly decreed, than that which relates to the *persecution of heretics, and the deposing of kings and emperors*, who are either heretics themselves, or abettors of those that are. This doctrine, however, they can “reject, as *unchristian and impious*,” and yet adhere to the Church which continues to profess it. If they differ from the Church of Rome in such *material* points, then why do they not leave it? And if they do not believe as that Church believes, then they are *not* Roman Catholics; and to affirm that they *are*, is a downright imposition on the credulity of the public.

I will now come closer to the point, by asking, What numbers are there among the two thousand, and upwards, of priests, in Ireland, who will join in this condemnation of their doctrines as *unchristian and impious*? How many individuals are there, among the three or four millions, which compose the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, who sincerely accord with the Petitioners in this sentiment? The assertion, indeed, should be well remembered and weighed; because we may be assured, that it would not have been made, unless it had been thought necessary. It does by clear implication admit, that all their professions, nay, all their oaths, unless sanctioned by,

and agreeable to the religion which they hold, are little, or not at all, to be relied upon. If they have thought this assertion so material, the contradiction of it must be, at least, equally material; nay, the exposure of its *falsehood* must, in the mind of every candid person, operate as the strongest evidence against their claims.

The chief ground upon which they rest their hopes of success, is, that they have taken the oaths prescribed to them, as "tests of their moral and religious principles;" and they appeal to "the sufferings, which they have long endured, and the sacrifices they still make, rather than violate their consciences, (by taking oaths of a religious or spiritual import, contrary to their belief,) as decisive proofs of their profound and scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath."

As to this, I must first observe, that the oath which they have such an abhorrence of taking, is the oath of Supremacy; that oath in which is acknowledged the authority and jurisdiction of the King in matters *ecclesiastical* as well as *civil*. This oath (let it be noted) they do not take, *because they hold that the jurisdiction, and authority in matters ecclesiastical within this realm, belongs not to the King, but to the Pope*. To my mind therefore this is no proof of their scrupulous reverence for the *sacred obligation of an oath*. They do not take the oath, because it would be considered by the Pope as an act of *rebellion* against him, for which they would be *excommunicated*. This is only simply the case of a man refusing to swear allegiance to a prince, whom he considers as an usurper, and which certainly, whatever other merits it may have, is never alleged as "a decisive proof of his profound and scrupulous reverence for the obligation of an oath." Their refusing therefore to take this oath, I cannot consider as giving much weight to the other oaths, which they have actually taken.

Besides, if we consider, that the Romish religion admits of *deceit*, and gives absolution for it, when *heretics* are in question, can we be assured, that it is *not* used on this occasion? The Catholics take *some* oaths, but *one* they particularly refuse to take, because, they say, "it is of a religious or spiritual im-

port, contrary to their belief": and therefore they urge this upon us as "a decisive proof of their profound and scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath."

The reasoning certainly appears very plausible: but, may it not be all *finesse*? For if they prevail upon us by such an argument, they then know that we must give them entire credit for all their declarations, concerning their steadfast attachment to the person, family, and government of their most gracious Sovereign—their "decided predilection for the admirable principles of the British Constitution"—their firm resolution "to defend, to the utmost of their power, the settlement of property in their country, as established by the laws now in being"—and finally, their "solemn abjuration of any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, or to weaken the Protestant Religion, or Protestant Government in Ireland."

By not taking *the oath of supremacy*, therefore, they may wish to cajole us into the fullest persuasion that they are the most *upright* and *conscientious* men upon earth; and, consequently, that they may be as safely trusted with a share in the legislature, as any of the most loyal among his Majesty's *Protestant* subjects.

But, should it even be allowed, that some, or all of the Petitioners are *sincere* in their professions, can we be so silly as to imagine, that all the rest of the Catholic body, or the majority of them, are equally so? Then are we credulous indeed, and deserve to suffer for our credulity; because the conduct of the Papists in general, ever since our secession from them, has evinced their hostility to us.

Should it be still objected, that, as the Petitioners, and other Romanists, have sworn allegiance in *temporal* matters, to the *Protestant* Government under which they live, and have also sworn, that they hold no such doctrine as that "faith is not to be kept with heretics," it is but reasonable to conclude, that if they did not think themselves bound by such oaths, they would not scruple to take *the oath of supremacy*, which might qualify them to enjoy the privileges they are

now so ardently in pursuit of. To this it is answered, that the aforesaid doctrine is contained in the decisions of the Lateran Council, a very general one, and so held to be by all Romanists—that the practice of the court of Rome, and of all its vassals and votaries, has been always strictly conformable to such doctrine—that the *recent* publications of the most celebrated divines of that persuasion, and among others, of Doctors Troy and Hussey, one a bishop, the other an archbishop, and both subjects of this empire, state, “that Roman Catholics consider the express decisions of their general councils, as infallible authority in points of doctrine”—that the rejection of the oath of supremacy by Romanists, notwithstanding their taking it would entitle them to great privileges, is no proof that they consider themselves bound by oaths, by which they plight their faith to an heretical government, or to heretics in general: because the oath of supremacy contains an *abjuration of the supremacy of the Pope*, under the title of a foreign prelate; and such an oath their religion will not permit them to take. Doctor Troy, among others of their eminent divines, tells them, “That Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Rome, the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope in spirituals being a fundamental article of the Romish faith.” But the express decisions of the Council of Lateran (infallible authority with them in points of doctrine) tell them, that *no faith is to be kept with heretics*, and that all pledges of faith given to heretics, by oaths or otherwise, “are absolutely null and void, consequently are not binding, and ought not to be observed; so that they may take such oaths, and break them at their pleasure, as absolute nullities in themselves:” and such has been the constant and avowed practice of their Church.

That no reliance can be placed on the professions of Romanists is evident; for if we consult the pages of history, we shall find that the adherents of the Popes have never been backward in making such professions, or in breaking them when made. We have the example of Queen Mary, who

certainly broke through every restraint, and was guilty of acting, not only most cruelly, but against her word most solemnly pledged. She too began her reign with expressing the same *liberal* ideas which are now professed. In her first proclamation concerning religion, “She willeth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort, *leaving those new found devilish terms of Papist and Heretic and such like*, and applying their whole care, study and travel to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversation in such charitable and godly doings, as their lives may indeed express the great hunger and thirst of God’s glory,” &c.* Could any language be more *liberal*, or more unlike that of a persecutor? And yet this *good lady* must, at that time, have had in her contemplation the cruelties which she so soon afterwards exercised. It is notorious, also, that James II. made the same professions upon his accession to the crown; and it is equally notorious that he took the very first opportunity of breaking them. I know not why the professions which any persons holding the same creed make upon the same points are to be more depended upon than those of these two crowned heads†: for, in violating their faith, they could be actuated only by a mistaken and ill-directed zeal; every temporal motive operated the other way; the measures which they thus pursued, in breach of their faith, tended to *diminish* and not to *increase* their power. To the former of them they produced only disquiet and dissatisfaction, and to the latter the loss of his kingdom. Surely, then, when we see those who are in full possession of power, (merely because they are under such influence,) acting not only contrary to their word, but to their true interests—when we see this take place in the case of these two monarchs, who were generally considered as persons of

* See Wilkins’ Concilia, v. 4.

† When James made his profession and promise to maintain all the just rights and liberties of his subjects, it was said, “We have now the word of a King, a word never broken.” See Hume, vol. 8, chap. 70.

sincerity and honour—when, notwithstanding, we see that their promises could not be depended on, in any case where *the interest of their religion* was concerned, shall we not be excused, if we hesitate to repose implicit confidence in the declarations, and even the oaths of men, who are, in truth, contending for rank and for power; who, in the application which they make, and the language which they hold, have in view the advancement of their temporal as well as of their religious concerns?

If we advert to the late insurrections in Ireland, have not the most particular details been given of Roman Catholics, who took loyal oaths at the moment, when they were the most deeply engaged in the late rebellion? Some of the very men who were killed or taken with arms in their hands, were recognized as having but just before disclaimed, in the most solemn appeals to God, every intention of rebellion. I will add, further, that, by their allegiance, and, by their oaths, the Roman Catholics were bound to disclose all traitorous conspiracies against the Government: but I will ask, in a rebellion so widely diffused, and which must have been known to hundreds of thousands, nay millions, how many came forward with such information?

The inference which I mean to draw from this, is, that it is most likely what *has been, is, and ever will be*; and to insist, that it is wise and allowable to reason from *past* events to the *present* and the *future*. We are also justified in using such reasoning, when we consider the idea which Dr. Milner (titular bishop of Winchester) gives us of the obligation of an oath. I do not charge it upon him as his own *particular* notion. I believe that it is correctly the opinion of his Church, and that which it has acted upon in all ages. When I have stated it, I shall leave all comment to others. Only, after this, let not the Roman Catholics complain, if we do not repose in the oaths which they take, or offer to take, all the confidence which they require.

Dr. Milner, in speaking of the coronation oath, and denying that it bound the Sovereign in such manner as by some it

is supposed to do*, says, (addressing himself to Mr. Reeves,) "Sir, give me leave to remind you that *every human law, and every promise or other engagement, however CONFIRMED BY OATH, must necessarily turn upon the cardinal virtue of PRUDENCE, which implies that it depends, AS TO THE OBLIGATION OF FULFILLING IT, in such and such circumstances, ON THE QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCY!*"

The obligation of an oath a question of expediency!!!—But take the Gentleman's explanation: "After all, *this is saying no more than that the ETERNAL AND IMMUTABLE LAW OF NATURE, or rather of God, is paramount to all subsequent obligations which we may take upon ourselves, whenever they APPEAR to militate against each other!*"

What more could the rankest of Jacobins have said? Have we not here their very jargon of the "inalienable rights of man?" What breach of faith could not be vindicated by such a principle? This is, indeed, no more than was observed by Charles I., that the maxims of the *republicans* in his time were all taken from the *Popish* doctors. Thus it was, that, according to a well-known writer, they argued—

"'Tis he who made the oath that breaks it,—
Not he that for *convenience* takes it." *Hudibras*.

Indeed, I should not at all wonder, that, if the great men among the Catholics find they cannot be admitted to sit, in both Houses of Parliament, without taking the oath of supremacy (which *all* its members are obliged to do), they should at last consent to it, as a duty they owe to the Church of Rome; and, by jesuitical sophistry, be taught, that it is no sin to put on the *profession of Protestantism*, for a season, if thereby they may eventually serve the interests of *Popery*.

That his Holiness of Rome authorises such conduct, is evident from the case of *Parsons*.* This *jesuit* was appointed superior in a mission to England, in order to promote *Popery*

* Case of Conscience, stated, &c. Sold by Faulder, p. 44.

† *Biograph. Diction.* Life of Parsons.

in this kingdom. But he and his colleagues could not safely come into these realms, because *Pius V.* had not only absolved the subjects of Queen *Elizabeth* from their oath of allegiance, but pronounced an *anathema* against all those who should obey her. However, *Gregory XIII.* removed this hinderance, for he gave them a faculty, dispensing with their obedience to the Queen, notwithstanding the bull of his predecessor. Thus Papists of the worst sort appeared Protestant subjects, and this by Papal authority.

While they could not do better, they were allowed, by the Pope, to swear an oath of allegiance to Queen *Elizabeth*. But when the King of Spain had fitted out his *Armada*, by which he hoped to make an entire conquest of England, they were discharged from the obligation of their oath. This was signified to them by cardinal *Allen*, then head of the English Catholics, in an admonition to the nobility of England, whom, notwithstanding the sacred engagements they had come under to Queen *Elizabeth*, he called upon, and warmly exhorted to appear for the old cause; or, in other words, to unite their endeavours, and exert themselves to the utmost, for destroying the Queen, and all English Protestants. Hence it is easy to see what may be expected from Irish and British Papists, should they once get the upper hand. Then, *heretici extirpandi*, excommunicated heretics are to be *exirpated*, would be the cry.*

In our unfortunate war with America, the people of Great Britain had striking proofs of the pretended sincerity of *Popish assurances*, from the insidious conduct of our Roman Catholic neighbours. France not only publicly protested against the conduct of our American colonies, but proceeded so far in her plan of duplicity, as to order the American privateers to leave her ports; and Spain gave us to understand, that she was too much interested for her own colonies to encourage such an example of disobedience to the mother country.

* *Bennett's Memorial of the Reformation*, p. 33.

Our Ministry, satisfied with these *delusive appearances* of support, trusted to the *amity* of France and Spain, and rested in *security*. They knew that *treachery* formed no part of the system of *British politics*, and expected that *sincerity* from the House of Bourbon, which characterises our conduct, and which is the glory of this nation.

What was the consequence? At the very time when Papists were receiving favours from this Government, our *professing friends* laid aside the mask, and appeared in the blackest colours of *baseness* and *perfidy*. Regardless of their public disavowals of the American cause, and their solemn protestations to the British Ministry, their *most Christian and Catholic Majesties*, without the least provocation, contrary to the faith of treaties, and to the law of nations, united for our destruction. And shall we, after such circumventive tergiversation, in Roman Catholic nations, trust to the temporising protestations of Papists, and put weapons into their hands to be turned against ourselves? God forbid!

The national credulity, and unsuspecting honesty of the English, subject them to great impositions, and often render them the dupes of pretended Patriots and artful demagogues. But, upon this occasion, I trust they will join to the *innocence of doves*, the *wisdom of serpents*. "Beware of men," says that God who "knows what is in man." Though a facility of disposition is congenial to the English, yet good sense as strongly marks their character. From this circumstance, I entertain a flattering prospect, that after the intimations here given, you will arm yourselves with vigilance and circumspection, against every sly attack upon your understanding and judgment.

This caution is absolutely necessary, because numbers are too apt to be led astray, "by the cunning craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Where the passions and interests of men are strongly excited, it becomes us to be careful how we admit the most plausible declarations. "The professions of princes," (says Lesley,) "when a crown is the bait, is but a slender security." And, surely, with as

much reason, may we suspect the professions of *Roman Catholics*, when the triple crown of the Pope, the establishment of their religion, upon the downfall of what they deem heresy, and their own particular exaltation to posts of honour and great profit, are the glittering baits which present themselves.

On the 20th of May, 1807, "An Address of several of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects to their Protestant Fellow-subjects," appeared in some of the London public prints. It was signed by "John Douglass, D. D. Vic. Ap. Lon." and by fifty-eight other Catholics, who, I presume, were men of consequence in the Romish communion. Herein they laid before "their Protestant fellow countrymen, and fellow subjects, what they were pleased to call, "*unanswerable documents of the purity and integrity of the religious and civil principles of ALL his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects*, in respect to their King and Country." And then, as if fully confident of the success of their appeal, they twice put this question, "*Such being our civil and religious principles*, is there in them a single tenet which is incompatible with the purest loyalty, or which, in the slightest degree, interferes with the duty we owe to God, our King, or our Country?"

"The first document they present, is, THE OATH AND DECLARATION prescribed by the British Parliament of the thirty-first of his present Majesty, and WHICH IS TAKEN BY ALL ENGLISH CATHOLICS—The next documents are THE OATHS AND DECLARATIONS, prescribed by the Acts of the Irish Parliament to Irish Roman Catholics, and *which are taken by them ALL*." These contain precisely the same sentiments which the Irish Petitioners have avowed in their Address to the British Parliament. The English Catholics also affirm, "that there is not, in any of them, a single principle, which every Roman Catholic subject of his Majesty does not profess, or which, if his King and Country required it, he would not think it his duty to seal with his blood."

They moreover assert, that, at the request of Mr. Pitt, who wished "to be furnished with authentic evidence of the

opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the Roman Catholic Universities abroad, the Universities of Paris, Lovain, Alcala, Doway, Salamanca, and Valadolid, they answered unanimously,

"1. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, HAS NOT any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England.

"2. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, CANNOT absolve or dispense with his Majesty's subjects from their *oath of allegiance*, upon any pretext whatsoever.

"3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or a private nature."

Now, most certainly, if we had reason to believe that these were their *real* sentiments, the penal laws, of which they so loudly complain, might be repealed, as useless. But (unfortunately for their cause) *matters of fact* are against them, and these are stubborn things. Indeed, they who signed the Address, seemed sensible of this; and therefore they put these questions, as in the mouth of a Protestant objector, "Are these principles really instilled into Roman Catholics? Do their *actions* correspond with them?"

As it is upon *this ground* that the weight of the whole argument is founded, because *actions* always speak more powerfully than *words*, one might suppose, that they would have taken great pains to *prove*, that their *actions did* correspond with their *principles*. But this was a subject which they knew would not bear investigation; and, accordingly, they artfully evaded it, and only answered the queries of the Protestant by a short one of their own, 'In reply, we ask, are there not, at this very moment, thousands of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, who daily and hourly make the most heroic exertions and sacrifices, in those fleets and

armies, to whose patient and adventurous courage it is owing, that we are still blessed with a King and a Country?"

Very *modest*, truly! Doubtless, these English Catholics must have read "A Letter to a Nobleman on the proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws," written by "Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's-Inn," a person of some reputation among them, as a lawyer and conveyancer. He states, that if the Irish Romanists did not flock to the standard of Britain, frightful indeed would be the solitude of her camps and her fleets. Alas, poor Britain! According to this author, and the declaration above recited, the Roman Catholics are our *only*, or at least our *chief* defenders!

But I would ask these *vaunting* Gentlemen, 1. Whether the *Protestant* soldiers and sailors are not far more numerous than those of the *Romish* religion? 2. Whether they do not believe, as I do, that the *Protestants* of Great Britain, and Ireland, could furnish sufficient armies and fleets, if *Romanists* were wholly excluded? 3. Whether the late alarming mutiny in the fleet, at the Nore, was not excited entirely by *their* Catholic Brethren? 4. Whether they think, that these rebellious sailors were then serving their *King* and their *Country*? 5. Whether it was not on account of the disaffection then manifested to their *King* and their *Country*, that the recruiting officers, for some time, refused to enlist any Irish Romanists, for the marine service? And 6. Whether they can possibly imagine, that "the patient and adventurous courage" which, at other times, has been conspicuous, was "owing" to the *loyalty* of the Catholics, to the strong desire they felt, to be "blessed with a" *Protestant* "King, and a Country," where the *Protestant* religion was established by law?

In the army, it is supposed that nine tenths of the common soldiers are *Protestants*; and the degree of merit which attaches to *Romish* soldiers or sailors, in countries remote from their native land, removed from the baneful influence of their priests, and subject to the strictest military and nautical discipline, is so very minute, that its value is not easily appreciated. They enlist for the *bounty* they receive—

they are *paid* for their allotted service, and *obliged* to perform it. If they were *deficient* in it, they would be *flogged* for it; and if they were found guilty of *treachery* or *cowardice*, they would be *shot*. Besides, they are stimulated to "*courage*," by the powerful consideration, that if they do not *conquer*, they must *die*, or drag out a miserable existence, as prisoners, in an enemy's land. When a Scotch General once, at the head of his troops, addressed them thus, "See you yon bra fellows coming down the hill! If you dinna fell *them*, they will fell *you*," they instantly rushed on the advancing foe, with impetuous fury, and completely defeated them.

The Irish, also, (whether Papists or Protestants,) are naturally a brave and intrepid people, fired with a spirit of martial glory; so that there is no necessity for forcing them into our fleets or navies. They are not dragged into our service in chains, like the population of France. They likewise see, that the soldiers and sailors live better than the Irish labourers; and preferring a military life to hedging, ditching, and digging potatoes, they enlist in numbers.

Moreover, great honours and rewards are frequently conferred on those who signalize themselves in battle: and we likewise see, in the common avocations of life, that the working classes will diligently attend to their business, not from *love* to their employers, (though this sometimes may be the case, if they have indulgent masters,) but from regard to their own *interest*. This is the spring that sets all in motion. It is also certain, that even *foreign mercenaries*, as well as "thousands of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, daily and hourly make the most heroic exertions and sacrifices in our armies," merely because an opposite conduct would be a disgrace to *themselves* and their *profession*, and a forfeiture of the *pay* for which they fight. War is their *business*, and therefore they must shew "patient and adventurous courage," if they expect their *wages*. And though *we* are still "blessed with a King and a Country," yet no one supposes that *the armies of aliens* fight so much for them, as for their own *honour and advantage*.

From these observations, it clearly appears, that what Doctor Douglass and his fifty-eight Roman Catholic brethren have said, concerning the soldiers and sailors belonging to *their* Church, has not the least foundation in truth; and, therefore, can never be an answer to that question put to them by Protestants, "Do your *actions* correspond with your *principles*, as avowed in both the Addresses we have been considering? But, lest the reasoning which has been here produced should not be deemed decisive, I shall now proceed to shew, that the *actions* and *professions* of the Catholics have been, and are still, perfectly *at variance*.

The Petitioners to Parliament profess to abhor and detest what has ever been considered articles of faith maintained by the Church of Rome. But if we are to give credit to the several works which have lately been published in Ireland by the *priests* in that Church, we must believe, that Roman Catholics are exactly in sentiment what they were centuries ago. Indeed, how to reconcile the several Popish productions with the declarations contained in the Petition, is a task, I must acknowledge, too arduous for me, and, I believe, for the Catholics themselves. I must, therefore, either conclude that the Priests in Ireland know the *real* sentiments of the people, and that Roman Catholics *are what they always were*, or that the Petitioners have dissented from the Church of Rome, and if so, they require no bill to *emancipate* them. Or that the real sentiments of the Roman Catholics are *disguised*, for the purpose of obtaining the object they have in view.

Let us first take into consideration those words of the Petitioners, "that they do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, within this realm."

In what manner the Roman Catholics of Ireland own and acknowledge the POPE, appears from what is printed in the front of nearly all the Catholic prayer-books now in use, from which I have selected the following: "POPE CLEMENT XIV. the 5th of April, 1772, granted an *indulgence* of seven years, and

seven quarantines to all the Catholics of this kingdom, as often as they *devoutly* repeat acts of CONTRITION, on FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY: the daily practice of which is most earnestly recommended to the faithful, as an excellent form of prayer.—This indulgence may be applied for the relief of the souls in purgatory."

That the POPE's power extends to Ireland will further appear, when it is considered he appoints all the titular bishops there: and, when he is considered as a foreign prince, in connection with Buonaparte, is it possible that the Irish Roman Catholics can think, that Parliament or our Sovereign will pass an act to extend their power within these realms?

One of their archbishops, Dr. Troy, observes, that "HE (the POPE) is the guardian of the general canons, he *can alone* dispense in (with) them, *proprio jure*, or by inherent right: others enjoy that power by *delegation from him*. The erection, suppression, and union of bishopricks, and other particular benefices; the elevation of sees to the metropolitan dignity and jurisdiction; the institution of general fasts and holidays, and dispensations from their observances; the regulation and inspection of our liturgy; *appeals from ecclesiastical courts to his supreme tribunal*; the suspension and restoration of bishops; numberless other particulars of our church discipline, mentioned in the canons, depend on the POPE, as on *our ecclesiastical superior*, and are connected with *his primacy and jurisdiction in the universal Church*."

He also informs the Roman Catholics of Ireland, that "Henry the VIIIth of England, was the first Christian prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, and commanded an *enslaved Parliament* to enact it as a law of the state. The Catholics consider *it* an usurpation, and on Catholic principles deny the competency of any power or tribunal to regulate *their ecclesiastical discipline*."

Now, though the Petitioners pretend to disclaim the *temporal* jurisdiction of the Pope, yet they adhere to the Pope's *ecclesiastical* supremacy, under which the priests in their church derive and exercise the power they assume, *which* is

not a little in Ireland. Dr. Troy admits, that appeals are from inferior Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic Courts in Ireland, to the POPE'S SUPREME TRIBUNAL; and the nature of the jurisdiction, exercised in Ireland, may be easily obtained from a variety of facts. A priest, who acted as judge in the Consistorial Court of Elphin, in December, 1792, cited parties, who had been married by a priest, and who had cohabited together as man and wife, in a cause of nullity of marriage. The consequence was, that he declared the marriage null and void, and the woman was turned out upon the world. She complained to one of the representatives of the county, and he espoused her cause, and remonstrated against such proceedings, but in vain; this judge insisted on enforcing his sentence, and in justification thereof, produced a decree of the COUNCIL OF TRENT!! It is therefore evident, that at present, we have a *foreign jurisdiction* in Ireland, governed by the laws of a FOREIGN PRINCE, the MOST HOLY POPE! who, by the plenitude of his ecclesiastical and sovereign power, could take the crown of Lewis of France, and place it on the head of *Buonaparte*, the scourge and curse of Europe.

It is true Dr. Troy declares, that while Catholics deny the right of any power to regulate their discipline, "they conscientiously respect the sovereign power in all temporal and civil concerns." And the Petitioners profess the same sentiments, and declare their approbation of the laws *now in being*. But how often is it evident in Ireland, that they have not recanted the old doctrine—*No faith is to be kept with heretics*. Did the Rev. *Father Gahan* respect the sovereign power, when he was called to give evidence at the assizes of Trim, in the county of Meath, in the case of LORD DUNBOYNE? No; he would not give the court any satisfaction, and assigned as a reason, *that no tribunal could force him to declare what was imparted to him in confession*. For the satisfaction of such as may not be acquainted with the case, I will state it. Lord Dunboyne, titular bishop of Cork, professed to conform to the Protestant Established Church, but died in the bosom of the Church of Rome, and was attended by this *Gahan*. He left

all his property, past his relations, to the Roman Catholic College; the next of kin commenced a suit for the recovery of the same, and the issue of the suit depended upon the fact, whether Lord Dunboyne died a Roman Catholic or not. But this question *Gahan* refused answering, by *declining the authority of the Court*.

It is also a well-known fact, that even in a case of robbery or murder, a priest will not divulge, or give evidence, of what has been imparted to him in confession. Very frequently they will bring stolen property to the owner, having obtained it from the thief; but the name of the robber is never communicated. And it is very common, even in the capital, for persons who have had their pockets picked, to look to the priest as the most effectual medium to recover their property. A priest, whose own brother was robbed and murdered, gave the murderer absolution, because he imparted to him the information in confession; nor was the least notice taken of it, till the priest himself was stopped, in the dark, by the same ruffian. When he was taken and tried, he confessed that on the spot where he stopped the priest, he had murdered his brother.

Many facts might be produced to shew, that Roman Catholic priests in Ireland do not respect the civil law, or sovereign power; but I shall only remark what Lord Clare observes of several who were summoned, from the South of Ireland, to give evidence before a secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, respecting some persons who had voted at the general election, but that they all denied *the jurisdiction of the Committee**; and yet these men will talk of paying every respect to the laws of their country.

* Having such testimonies even from the Roman Catholics of the present day, that these pernicious principles, of a *foreign jurisdiction, superior to that of the civil government of Great Britain, and of the absolute inconsistency of all Toleration with the authority of an infallible Church*, are still among the leading maxims of that sect, the Legislature of Great Britain, the patrons and protectors of our Protestant settlement

Now, supposing that Catholic Emancipation should be obtained, and a Roman Catholic priest be intrusted with the administration of the law, as a magistrate, how could he act faithfully to the country, so long as he admits of an ecclesiastical government, not accountable to the laws of the country? Should a man, who has committed robbery or murder, go to him as his Reverence and Confessor, according to his office and clerical character, he must not, and will not impart, or give evidence, of what is committed to him in confession. A Roman Catholic priest, as a magistrate, therefore, might give the greatest encouragement to every act of injustice.

And, indeed, to this, some of the principles of their religion (if it may be called by that sacred name) naturally lead them. Well aware of this objection, which is so often made to them, the Petitioners have declared upon oath, "that they firmly believe that no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused, by or under pretence or colour that it was done for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, and that *it is not an article of the Catholic faith.*" But it is evident, notwithstanding, from the testimony of their priests, who ought to know better, that the above solemn declaration is not founded on truth. *Father Gahan* says, "The Roman Catholic Church cuts off from her communion, *every one* who denies, alters, or retrenches *one* article of faith. It is thus she preserves a perfect unity in her behalf." To prove that POPE PIUS VII. the present Pope, believes all that his predecessors believed, and curses all that they cursed; and that the *Romish Church* is the same, he remarks again, "The Holy Church is the same in the continual succession of her pastors, a list of whom *St. Irenæus* brings down from *St. Peter* to *Eleutheris*; *St. Optatus*

civil and religious, are fully justified in excluding Papists from all those privileges to which those citizens are intitled, who acknowledge the supremacy of the civil powers in all the departments of Government, and on that foundation pledge their faith and allegiance to them.

brings it to *Siricius*; *St. Augustine* brings it to *Anastasius*; and after *Anastasius*, all ecclesiastical writers extend it to *Pius VII.* who *this day* acknowledges *all* his predecessors as lawful Vicars of Jesus Christ, *believes* all that they *believed, defined, and condemned*; and approves *all* that they have approved."

That the sentiments maintained by the priests are in unison with the Catholic faith, is evident from the creed of POPE PIUS IV. the standard of the Popish faith. "I do embrace *all and every* thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent," &c.—And all other things contrary thereto, and *all heresies, condemned, rejected, and anathematized* by the Church, I do likewise *condemn, reject and anathematize.*" So that, as *Father Gahan* says, Roman Catholics are *obliged* to believe what their Church decrees.

To any person who is the least acquainted with ecclesiastical history, it must appear that the sentiments *expressed* by the Petitioners, as members of the Roman Catholic Church, are very opposite from what has been espoused by the members of that Church in all ages. Do the Catholics of Ireland, as *Mr. Gahan* says, believe all that was ever maintained by the Pope and Church of Rome? then they believe contrary to the language of *this Petition*, that any act in itself, however immoral, they are bound to obey. I will just give a few short extracts to prove that this sentiment is maintained by that Church.

POPE INNOCENT III. says, "We may, according to the fulness of our power, dispose of the law, and dispense above law." And in the first book, *Gregory*, the 9th decretal, at the 7th title, chap. 3, we have an epistle of the said POPE INNOCENT, where he speaketh thus: "Those whom the Bishop of Rome doth separate, it is not a man that separateth them; but God. For the Pope holdeth place on earth, not simply of a man but of true God." And again, "That he hath celestial governments, and therefore may change the nature of things, applying the substance of the one to the other; of nothing can create something: and a decree that is void he can make it in force; for in matters that *he will* have

come to pass, *his will* is his reason; and no man questioneth him, wherefore do you that? For he can dispense above law; and of INJUSTICE can make JUSTICE!" [Pretty Christianity! this is of a sort with those who say, "Let us do evil that good may come of it, whose damnation is just."] The famous *Cardinal Bellarmine*, in the 4th book *De Pontif*, chap. 5, says, "If the POPE should err in commanding VICE, and forbidding VIRTUE, the Church were bound to believe that *vice* be good and *virtue* bad, unless she would sin against her own conscience." And again, in chap. 31, he saith, "In good sense and judgment Christ hath given to *St. Peter* (consequently to the Pope) the power of making that to be *sin* which is *no sin*, and that which is *no sin* to be *sin*." Many more such like horrible extracts might be given; but, if proof is wanting to make it more evident that Roman Catholics *now* are what they *ever* were, and that such sentiments are maintained; the declaration of *Father Gahan*, and the conduct of the present Pope with *Buonaparte*, are quite sufficient to convince every impartial observer.

Again—The Petitioners solemnly affirm, that "the Catholic faith does not require them to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible. But, that the priests in Ireland really believe both the infallibility of the POPE and his Church, is what I shall prove from works which they have lately published. *Father Gahan*, on this subject, says, "Who is the judge to whom Jesus Christ has communicated the gift of infallibility? Behold here the end of all disputes, and the point to which all controversies and contests about religion are reduced. Behold here what renders my faith firm, certain, unshaken, and what dissipates all my doubts, all my inquietudes, and all my perplexities. For supposing that this judge is assisted by the Holy Ghost, as I shall prove in the following paragraph, and that HE CANNOT ERR in matters of faith, I have but to submit to HIS decisions *without examining* whether what he has decided be *right* or *wrong*!" After which he observes, "It is then *only* to the true Church of Jesus Christ, that is, to the *Roman Catholic* and *Apostolic*

Church, that *infallibility* has been promised and communicated."

If any thing further appears necessary to prove that the *Infallibility* of the POPE, Councils, and Roman Church is believed, in Ireland, I would only refer to the *Pastoral Address* of Dr. Troy (the present titular Archbishop of Dublin), on the *Duties of Christian Citizens*, addressed to the Roman Catholics of the Arch-Diocese of Dublin, published in the year 1793. Thus speaks the Reverend Prelate, "We have already observed, that Catholics are obliged to believe as an article of faith, that the POPE, or Bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, is the supreme head of the Church on earth, and centre of Catholic unity, with a primacy by *Divine Right* of real authority and jurisdiction in the universal Church: and that all Catholics owe HIM canonical respect and obedience on that account; it is likewise an article of faith, that the Church of Christ is *infallible* in her doctrinal decisions and canons on points of faith and morals, because he promised to be with her unto the end of the world. Catholics therefore are obliged to adhere *implicitly* to such decrees and canons of the Church assembled in general council, and confirmed by the Pope, as to the rules of faith. They are therefore obliged, in like manner, to submit to similar decisions and decrees of the POPE, when expressly or tacitly assented to, or not dissented from, &c. &c." Indeed the authority of the POPE or Church, is declared to be above all authority on earth, neither bound to the laws of nations, or the scripture of truth; as *Salmeron*, the Jesuit, observes in his second *Prolegom*, "The Church's authority is more ancient and more worthy than the authority of the scriptures." And while they despise both the laws of God and man, however great a friend I am to liberty of conscience, I must think that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are not entitled to *emancipation*, while they maintain the doctrines of Popery.

One of these doctrines is, that "princes excommunicated by the Pope, and Council, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person:" but the Petitioners

"on behalf of themselves, and of others of his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion," have sworn, "that this is no article of their faith, and that they renounce, and reject, and abjure the opinion *."

* With respect to the Pope's pretensions to the power of deposing princes, we have so strong an instance of the Holy See's inflexibility upon that point, in the State Papers collected by *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, that I need not make any excuse to the Protestant reader for this note, which records so curious and remarkable a testimony. In the year 1633, *Father Leander*, a Benedictine Monk, obtained leave of King *Charles I.*, by the means of Secretary *Winchbank*, and under pretence of visiting his relations, to come over from *Douay to England*. [See p. 72, of these State Papers.] When he was got hither, he was in no haste to go back, and, as it should seem, was permitted to stay, upon the pretence of being useful to the Government, in procuring the *English* Romanists to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy to the King. The Pope had issued a bull, prohibiting the Catholic subjects of *England* to take that oath. *Leander* set on foot a correspondence with some persons of power at *Rome*, particularly the Cardinals *Barberini* and *Bentivoglio*, wherein he used divers arguments to shew the expedience of suspending the execution of the above-mentioned bull, and, among the rest, the probability of bringing over the whole kingdom of *England* to the Catholic faith, by such a measure. He even set himself to defend the oath, and to shew, by certain qualifications of the terms in which it was expressed, that it was not incompatible with the obedience due from a good Catholic to the Holy See. Among his correspondents at *Rome*, was one *Richard Reade*, Procurator of the Congregation of the Benedictines in *England*, who went by the name of *John Wilfrid Selbye*. [See p. 169.] This *Wilfrid*, or *Wilford*, as he calls himself, had the care of *Leander's* correspondence at *Rome*, and, as appears, informed him, from time to time, how his intelligence and his proposals were received and relished by the Apostolic Government, which it seems was so very indifferently, that *Wilford* advised him, for his own sake, to meddle no more with the controversy about the oath, and having given *Leander* his reasons why the oath as enjoined by the *English* Government would not pass at *Rome*, he says: "I fear, therefore, some other form of oath must be thought upon, whereby his Majesty may abundantly, and superabundantly, if any thing can superabound in this kind, be secured of his subjects fidelity, and yet there be no entrenching upon subjects conscience, nor the authority of this seat, which,

They seem to be conscious, that *they* would be charged with holding this doctrine. But why do they say Catholics do not believe it? as it may be supposed they must know, that one priest hath said, It is lawful to murder any one (though his own prince) if the Pope hold him excommunicated *. And another sets down rules how it may done; and thinks poisoning the best way †. And *Hospinian* shews us, how the *Jesuits* animate him whom they employ for the murdering of Kings ‡.

If we only read the form of the oaths prescribed by the late and former Acts of Parliament, we shall there find that Papists, under the mask of religion, are supposed capable of the grossest perjuries, and most horrid murders. And if we look into Sir Richard Steel's Appendix, we shall see an extract from the oration of Pope Sixtus the Vth, uttered in a consistory at *Rome*, Sept, 2, 1579, wherein his Holiness commends, as wonderful and meritorious, the execrable murder committed by Jaques Clement, a Jacobine friar, on Henry the IIIrd, King of France; and compares the conduct of the monk, in perpetrating that horrid crime, with the conduct of Eleazar, and with that of Judith, in slaying Holofernes, and prefers the deed of his Catholic brother to both.

But the Petitioners, in their bold remonstrance, endeavour to hide from our eyes every thing of this kind, that the nation may more readily put them into the possession of that power, which, in all ages, they have so much abused, to the injury of all out of their Church.

having stood for her right so many ages, in the cause of deposing Princes, will be very unwilling to permit the oath as the words lie, although glossed with another intention. Look over the oath, which usually is exhibited to the Catholics in *Ireland*; examine other forms of oaths in Catholic countries, add to them, augment them, and endeavour to form them in that kind, and in those words, which may secure and content his Majesty, as is most just and reasonable to be done; yet take heed of meddling with deponibility of Princes, for that article will never pass here." State Papers, &c. p. 272.

* *Em. Sa.*

† *Marsana.*

‡ *Hospin. Hist. Jesuit. p. 225, and Flavel. Tidings from Rome.*

Let us only consult the history of our own country. Did not Pope Pius Vth *excommunicate* Queen Elizabeth, and as far as in him lay, deprive her of the allegiance of her subjects, by absolving them from the obligation of their oaths, and anathematizing such as continued in their obedience to her government? Thus she was left to the mercy of the first ruffian, who could find the means to execute the vengeance of his *Holiness* in a more effectual manner than would be done, by merely fixing the rescript to the gate of the Vatican. The bull is preserved by Bishop Burnet, and by the tenor of it, it appears, that as Queen Elizabeth's Protestant successors have offended the Holy See in the same articles, they must of course be liable to the same sentence*. How far the principles on which this Bull was founded, operated upon the Papists of those days, the religious designation of the *Spanish Armada*, and the frequent plots and conspiracies of the good Catholics of that reign, are indisputable evidence.

I shall now proceed to examine another protestation of the Petitioners, "that they reject and detest as unchristian and impious, to believe that it is lawful, in any ways, to injure any person or persons whatsoever, under pretence of their being *heretics*; and also that unchristian and impious principle that *no faith is to be kept with heretics*."

Whatever the *private* opinions of these Petitioners may be, they are only known to God, and their own consciences. But, certain it is, that the direct contrary are maintained, not only

* See Hist. Reform, vol. II. Collection of Records, part II. book iii. No. 13, the last in the volume. Sixtus the Vth published another bull in 1587, by which he gave away Queen Elizabeth's kingdoms to the first that should seize them. "This, says Rapin, was the King of Spain, who was ready to make an advantage of the Pope's kind offer." This *kind offer* was indeed implied in Pius's bull, though not so expressly mentioned. But the kingdom being taken from Elizabeth, must be given to somebody, and Mary Queen of Scots was just as ready to accept of it as Philip was afterwards.

by the Popes but by general Councils. It is expressly decreed by the fourth Lateran, that *heretics* shall be persecuted even to extermination; nay, that any potentate who shall give protection to them, or refuse to assist in such extermination, shall be involved in their fate*. In the Council of Thoulouse, adopted and followed in practice by the Popes, an Inquisition was established for the very purpose of discovering heretics, and subjecting them to persecution for their opinions, however privately entertained, or wholly kept to themselves. In the Council of Constance, also, not only John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt, but they were brought to the stake in violation of the solemn safe-conduct granted by the Emperor.† Nay, to shew still further the spirit of that communion, had it not been previously determined that heretics should not be allowed any counsellor to advise them? And also, that every sort of testimony was to be received against them? Were not these decrees acted upon? And I would further ask, upon what ground, or for what purpose, were the Inquisitions established, at Rome, in Spain, in Portugal, and other places, but upon this doctrine of Councils, that it is lawful to use every kind of force and rigour, to exercise every act of cruelty against a man, simply because he is supposed to be a *heretic*? Is it in *this* country that we are to be told, that these are not doctrines of the Church of Rome, where the memory of Queen Mary is still held in execration, merely for her obedience to these decrees, put in force, by her, under the sanction of a Pope's Legate; in consequence of which so many good and learned men were

* Fleury, B. 77. Dupin.

† That "*no faith is to be kept with heretics*," was decreed in the nineteenth Session of the Council of Constance. [See Span. Eccl. Hist. p. 1845.] This maxim, therefore, having been thus openly avowed, and having never been as openly disclaimed, it incontestably follows, that they who admit the *authority* and, particularly, the *infallibility* of that Council, cannot be trusted by those whom they account *heretics*.

brought to the stake, upon no other charge but a difference in matters of faith?

Yet, in order to throw the blame of persecution on the *Protestants*, or to make them, at least, sharers in this respect with the *Roman Catholics*, as well as to exculpate the latter, Dr. Milner (who is not only looked up to as a man of eminence, for his learning in the Romish Church, but is actually one of its Bishops) is not ashamed to tell us, first, that the "execrable fires in Queen Mary's reign were lighted up by the *policy*, not the *religion* of that remorseless Queen*." This is pretty well. But further he goes on to assure us, that "it has been demonstrated that many more Catholics were put to death under Elizabeth and the first Stuarts, for the mere exercise of their religion, than all the Protestant sufferers in Mary's reign †." P. 33.

Here the following observation seems worthy of notice: The persecution against the Protestants in Mary's reign comprises a period of *two years*. To this is opposed a period of *near a century*; for much less than this can hardly be comprised within the reign of Elizabeth and *only the two first Stuarts*. Surely, this is not a statement very favourable to Dr. Milner, upon his own shewing. But, in truth, I assert, (and every honest man, acquainted with English history, will coincide in opinion with me,) that the proposition is totally unfounded. Those whom he states as sufferers for their religion in Queen Elizabeth's reign, suffered for *state crimes*, and for *state crimes only*,

* Letter to a Member of Parliament, sold by Booker, p. 31.

† They who are well versed in the English annals, and who are *candid* judges, must allow, that the *Protestants* in Queen Elizabeth's reign, did not retaliate upon the *Papists* for the cruelties which they had so lately suffered. As a strong proof of this, let it be observed, that even the ferocious and sanguinary Bonner himself ended his days in as much quiet as a guilty conscience would suffer him to enjoy. He lived, in truth, protected from the fury of the populace, under the roof of a bishop, with every indulgence which he could reasonably desire.

The Pope had, in effect, declared war against the Queen. The Popish priests were considered as principally engaged in his cause, and all other Papists as in some sort implicated in it; in fact, many plots and conspiracies were discovered, or asserted to have been discovered, against the life of the sovereign. In consequence of this, very severe and (if you will) sanguinary laws were passed against those men so considered; and upon those laws some individuals were executed: not, I believe, any thing like the number mentioned; but, be they many or few, they were executed not *as heretics*, but *as state criminals*; tried by *secular* judges, upon merely *secular* grounds. Was this the case in Mary's reign? Were the *Protestants* executed for treasons real or supposed? Were they brought before *lay* courts? No; they were taken up, brought before *ecclesiastical* judges, and the question put to them was not, "Have you transgressed any statute of the realm?" but, "Do you believe in *transubstantiation*? Will you subscribe a declaration to that effect?" According to their answer, they were either dismissed, or imprisoned, or committed to the flames. So far were they from being punished for *political* crimes, that, in the cases of Cranmer and Ridley, care was taken that no mistake should be made in that respect. They had been guilty of *high treason* in proclaiming Lady Jane Gray; but they were purposely pardoned and not questioned for their *treason*, in order that they might suffer for their supposed *heresy*. What can more clearly shew the spirit by which Mary was actuated?

But even this is nothing—for Dr. Milner had, but a page before, cut the Gordian knot in a manner which not only absolves the advisers and instruments of Queen Mary, but renders it absolutely impossible that any ecclesiastic whatever (Roman Catholic at least) could have been guilty of persecution. And to this I earnestly entreat the reader's attention, because, if ever the spirit of the Romish Church was manifested, it is here, it is in this passage, thus put forth in the *nineteenth* century.

"But*," says the Doctor, "to meet the objection" (that arising from persecution) "more directly, I do not know any other Church, except the Catholic, which has *formally declared* (3 Lateran, Can. 27, &c. †) that she has *no power of inflicting sanguinary punishment in any case whatever*. She carries this spirit so far, as to render *those of her Clergy who concur indirectly*" (mark that) "in the shedding of blood, whether in a cause of heresy, or any other cause, *incapable of receiving a benefice, or of exercising ecclesiastical functions*. It is in virtue of this ancient law that the bishops of the Establishment quit their seats in the Upper House, when a capital cause comes before it. *Neither does the Church, by her general discipline, require or solicit temporal Princes to put heretics to death; ON THE CONTRARY, SHE WAS BOUND TO RECOMMEND THEM TO MERCY*, where the laws of the State used to inflict sanguinary punishments upon them." So then, when a purely ecclesiastical commission, sitting upon purely ecclesiastical questions, had adjudged a man guilty of *heresy*, and delivered him over to the secular arm, in full assurance, that he would the next hour be brought to the stake in consequence of that very adjudication, these ecclesiastics did not *even INDIRECTLY CONCUR in the shedding of that blood!!!* Bonner and Gardiner, nay the vice-chancellor and convocation of the University of Oxford had no share, no, not the most indirect participation in the deaths of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer!!! But further, they could not have it, because "*the Church was bound to recommend them to mercy!*" Because, in all such cases, the Romish Church, to the cruelty of her sentence, adds the detestable hypocrisy of recommending the unfortunate heretic to the mercy of the magistrate, who, under pain of excommunication, is bound to execute her decrees; therefore

* Letter c. p. 30.

† To which, however, be it remembered the 4th Lateran is *subsequent*, and so of later and more binding authority.

she does not even *indirectly concur* in the execution! What shall we say to such reasoning as this? Is this the *enlightened nineteenth century*, which boasts of its liberality and acuteness? Or is Dr. Milner preaching to the barbarians of the dark ages?

But, above all, I would particularly ask this *Right Reverend Lord Bishop*, or any of his adherents, who they are that not only *examine and torture* heretics, in the Inquisition, but "*inflict sanguinary punishment upon them?*" Do none of these "*exercise ecclesiastical functions?*" Is there not a *priest* to be found, who "*concurs, even indirectly, in the shedding of blood?*" Does every one who appears at an *auto da fê*, "*recommend to the mercy of temporal princes,*" the miserable creatures that have been condemned to suffer, by the inquisitorial tribunal, not for *crimes against the State*, but for presuming to differ from the Church of Rome, and to form their own notions of religion from "*the scriptures of truth?*" Among the *thousands* who have been sentenced to expire in the flames, how many have obtained mercy, at the recommendation of the clergy? It must be unaccountably strange indeed, if *several* of them have not been pardoned, at the *compassionate* interference of those priests, "*who have the rule over*" the people; yea, over kings and emperors themselves. And yet I much question, whether it can be said of a single individual, led to the faggot, by order of the Inquisitors, "*Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?*" *Zech. iii. 2.*

If we advert now to the reign of King James II., who became by degrees a bigoted Papist, we shall be the less inclined to credit the assertions of the members of the Romish Church.

Bishop Burnet, in "*the History of his own times,*" (vol. i, p. 672,) informs us, "*that the maxim which King James set up, and about which he entertained all around him, was the great happiness of an universal toleration. On this the King used to enlarge in a great variety of topics. He said, nothing was more reasonable, more Christian, and more politic; and he reflected much on the Church of England for the severities with which the Dissenters had been treated. This, how true or just*

soever it might be, yet was strange doctrine in the mouth of a **PROFESSED PAPIST**, and of a Prince, on whose account, and by whose direction, the Church-party had been indeed but too obsequiously pushed on to that rigour."

If it should be asked, how King *James II.*, or any other Papist, could reconcile these professions to doctrines and practices so directly contrary to them, the same worthy Prelate hath taught us, in another work, how to account for this.

"The *extirpation of heretics*, and the *breach of faith to them*, have been decreed by two of their general councils, and by a tradition of several ages:—Now these opinions, as they have never been renounced by the body of that Church, so indeed they cannot be, unless they renounce their *infallibility*, which is their *basis*, at the same time. Therefore, though a Prince of that communion may very sincerely resolve to maintain *liberty of conscience*, and to *keep his word*, yet the blind subjection, into which he is brought by his religion, to his Church; must force him to break through all that, *as soon as the doctrine of his Church is opened to him*, and that absolution is denied him, or higher threatenings are made, if he continues firm to his merciful inclinations." [*Reflections on a pamphlet entitled, Parliamentum Pacificum*, in the second vol. of Bishop Burnet's Tracts, 4to. p. 68.]

Hence, King James was induced, *at last*, to *persecute* the Protestants, though, *at first*, (as some authors think) he was disposed to *tolerate* them. Through the prevalence of bigotry, therefore, he could neither reconcile himself, nor his priests, to the slow precarious methods of bringing in Popery, by political intrigue. His *religion*, he thought, obliged him, and his *sovereign power*, he imagined, authorised him, to establish his own faith, by the most open and undisguised acts of oppression. In these attempts he was impolitic enough to let the nation see, that *Popery was always the same*, a cruel, intolerant, but, at the same time, a treacherous and hypocritical system, which, to compass its ends, could put on the mask of unlimited toleration on some occasions, even while, on others, it was breaking through every sacred fence of law and justice;

to plant its votaries where their influence was most likely to undermine the principal supports of the Protestant Religion. It is no wonder that these insults upon the Constitution should provoke a desertion of all his subjects, who valued the blessings of religious and civil liberty as they deserved. The consequence was, a general invitation to the Prince of *Orange* to undertake our deliverance, and the expulsion of the bigoted violator of the laws and liberties of a free and brave people.

As it has been often denied, that the doctrine of the Council of *Constance*, viz. *That faith is not to be kept with heretics*, (particularly when the interests of the Church come in question,) is not the doctrine of the Church of Rome, I shall now subjoin the decision of Pope Clement XI., near 300 years after the said Council was held, and *that* with respect to the most solemn treaties made between sovereign princes.

The treaties here alluded to are those of *Westphalia*, *Ryswick*, *Alt-Ranstadt*, and *Utrecht*. But as it would be too tedious to narrate all the circumstances attending them, suffice it to say, that they related to certain stipulations concerning religion, by which the *Protestants* (whom the Pope was pleased to call *heretics* and *an execrable sect*) were allowed several privileges. Nevertheless his *Holiness* took care "to publish a bull, annulling all the articles of these treaties which he conceived prejudicial to the Roman Catholic Religion;" and consequently to dispense with the *Roman Catholic* powers, who were parties to it, from fulfilling their engagements with the *Protestants*.

This appears from a long letter which he wrote to Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, dated Jan. 4th, 1712.* There *God's vicar general upon earth* speaks thus. "That your Majesty, being more substantially supported by our Apostolical decision, may with more alacrity utterly despise the before-mentioned conventions, and esteem them as if they had never been made; ~~we~~, by these presents, denounce to your Majesty, and at the same time, by the authority committed to us by

* *Tim. Contin.* vol. vi. p. 285.

the most omnipotent God, declare the before-mentioned covenants of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and every thing contained in it which are in any wise obstructive of, or hurtful to, or which may be said, esteemed, pretended, or understood, to occasion or to bring, or to have brought, the least prejudice to, or any ways to hurt, or to have hurt, the Catholic Faith, divine worship, the salvation of souls, the authority, jurisdiction, or any rights of the Church whatsoever, together with all and singular matters which have followed, or may at any time hereafter follow from them, to be, and to have been, and perpetually to remain hereafter, *de jure* null, vain, invalid, unjust, reprobated, void and evacuated of all force and effect from the beginning, and that no person is bound to the observation of them, or any of them, although the same have been repeatedly ratified or secured by an oath; and that they neither could nor ought to have been, nor can or ought to be, observed by any person whatsoever; and that no right, action, title, colour of title, cause of possession or prescription, is or hath been acquired from them, much less may be acquired or accrue by any length of time; and that they create or have created no estate or quality, but that they ought for ever to be accounted as if they had never issued, and as if they were not extant, nor had ever been made. And nevertheless, for the greater caution, and so far as may be necessary, we disapprove, rescind, cassate, make void, annul, and totally discharge of all force and effect, all the aforesaid covenants, and all other the premises enumerated in these presents which are prejudicial as aforesaid. Wherefore, our most dear Son in Christ, attend, and wholly rejecting all covenants of this kind, and rescinding every thing which has in any manner been done towards the execution of them, valiantly defend the cause of the Church, of Religion, and of God."

It is clear from this letter, that, from the time of the Council of Constance to the year 1712, it was the constant and invariable doctrine of the Church of Rome, that all stipulations with Protestants concerning Church-matters, that is to say, which granted any religious advantages to the Protestants, or

withdrew any from the Papists, were to be considered by the good Catholics as *ipso jure* null and invalid from the beginning.

And now I call upon the modern Romanists to inform us, if they please, at what period, since 1712, the Roman Pontiff, or the States of *Europe* in communion with him, have either disowned the doctrines and maxims above-mentioned, or corrected their practice by others of a more creditable family? If this cannot be shewn, we shall hardly believe that the good faith of the individuals of that communion, where the interests of the Church are concerned, is secured to the Protestants upon any better grounds than a temporary dispensation, which will last no longer than the Church remains in a state of inability to assert her authority, and reclaim her omnipotence. And nothing, I am persuaded, will satisfy the Papists but the establishment of their system, with all its despotic pretensions; and, to accomplish this, they ever have been, and ever will be at work; and employ all their craft and artifice for that purpose, upon all occasions and opportunities.

I have been assured upon good authority, that none of the Popish Casuists are of more esteem with the Roman Catholics of this kingdom than *Bellarmino*, upon account of the convenience of so many of his solutions to Catholics, situated in an heretical country. He is indeed their *Oracle*. Now, he has inculcated the duty of destroying heretics in the strongest terms; and only dispenses with it in cases where the Catholics are *too few* or *too weak* to attempt it.* The advantages therefore that the Protestants give to people thus principled, which may contribute either to their strength, or the increase of their numbers, are just so many steps towards the destruction of our Establishment.

From the history of the Polish Dissidents, also, published some years ago, we may learn, how cautious we should be at this juncture, when the Papists are soliciting an enlargement of their civil and religious privileges in this country, on the

* *Bellarmino*, de Laicis, *Lib.* iii. cap. 22.

pretence of their being so few, when compared with the numerous body of Protestants. We there find the Roman Catholics and Dissidents of Poland were once nearly equal as to numbers. We are there informed of the stipulations between the two parties, and by what solemn decisions their civil and religious rights were secured to the Dissidents upon various occasions; but all to no purpose, when they who called themselves Catholics had increased their numbers, and had got the power into their hands. The maxim that *no faith is to be kept with heretics*, was never more visibly nor canonically executed, from the time that it had the sacred sanction of the Council of Constance. No artifice, no injustice, no violence was omitted, whereby the Dissidents might be dispossessed of their churches, and restrained in the exercise of their religion. And what has happened in the course of the late struggles, by which the Dissidents have endeavoured to reinstate themselves in their natural and legal rights and privileges, makes it evident to demonstration, that THE SPIRIT OF POKERY IS STILL THE SAME, irreconcilable in its hatred and enmity to all dissenters from it; bigoted to the most abject superstitions of the darkest ages, and determined against every degree of toleration, wherever it has the power to enforce its sanguinary decrees against those whom it thinks fit to stigmatize with the name of *heretics*.

But why need we have recourse to foreign nations for a proof of this?—Our own histories abundantly testify, that where the *Papists* have been invested with civil authority, they have always dealt perfidiously with *heretics*, or, in other words, with *Protestants*. Does not this appear, by the breach of the Edict of Nantes against the faith of the most solemn treaties—by the massacres in Paris and Ireland, in which no ties of nature or friendship could prevent the staining their hands with the blood of their nearest *Protestant* relations? How many plots and conspiracies have been entered into against the reformed religion in England; particularly that wherein the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament,

were to be blown up at once? * And let it be observed, that all the conspirators were *absolved*; and that Garnet, their provincial, who performed the office, was commended by Belarmine, as a man of incomparable sanctity.

Should it still be said, that “the present race of Catholics are quite different from their fore-fathers,” then I appeal to a book published by the reverend father Gahan, about the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, on the 23d of July, 1803. It is called “*A short and easy method to discern the true religion, from all the different sects which assume that name undeservedly.*” This popular priest is well known in Ireland, on account of his attending Lord Dunboyne on his death-bed, and refusing to answer the questions put to him in a court of justice, relative to his lordship’s property. And his character is too much respected by the Catholics, to lead any one to suppose, that the sentiments he has left on record are opposite to *theirs*. He assures us again and again, that the Church of Rome is the same *now*, that she always was—that she *now* maintains every tenet that ever has been maintained by his Church—that she cannot err—and that no other Church can be the true Church, &c. Having declared in page 50, “we are *obliged* to believe that the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion is the *only true* religion that God hath revealed to mankind,” he asserts that *there is no salvation* out of this Church, and proceeds to prove that all Protestants are heretics.

* The horror which this infernal plot excited, induced our ecclesiastical rulers to compose “a form of prayer, with thanksgiving, to be used yearly upon the fifth day of November, for the happy deliverance of King James I., and the three estates of England, from the most traitorous and bloody-intended massacre by gunpowder:” And, to perpetuate the memory of this flagitious conspiracy, the service ordered for the occasion is still continued, wherein all Protestants give God their “unfeigned thanks and praise for preserving our gracious Sovereign, the Queen, the Prince, and all the royal branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of England, then assembled in Parliament, by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to be slain, in a most barbarous and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages.”

"How strongly," says he in page 78, "does all this militate against the sectaries of our days. For since the time of the apostles until the days of Luther and Calvin, ALL those were held HERETICS, who would not submit to the decisions of the Church established under the ROMAN PONTIFF and the bishops." And then to make evident these *heretics*, he adds, "the Lutherans and the Calvinists were unwilling to submit to the decisions of the COUNCIL OF TRENT. Can they be looked upon in any other light than the rest? What difference can they assign between themselves and their predecessors?" &c. Thus all the reformed churches are pronounced heretical, by this *liberal, loyal* Irish Catholic priest.—Let history inform us of the effects that have followed the belief of such a doctrine; and how many have been burnt and slaughtered for the good of the Church, and then let us consider if it will be safe, or wise, to invest them with more power, or to put into their hands a sword to slay us. Indeed, what must we expect, after the priest follows up his remark in the next page, by observing, that out of two hundred sects, "scarce any remains of these sects are now to be found: can the new sects, which, by a judgment of God, are still suffered to exist, expect any better fate hereafter?"

That the heretics to which this *Father* alludes are no little insignificant sect, unsupported by a nation, is evident, although he jesuitically calls them *sectaries*; for, in page 53, he observes, "upwards of two hundred heretical sects have attacked the Roman Catholic Church; and not to go too far back to the remote ages, nor to make mention of the unhappy schisms which have taken place; what has not been done by the *two last heresies*, so formidable by the great number of their followers, and supported by so many *sovereign powers*? Have they not employed, for the space of one hundred years, *fire and sword* to exterminate the Catholics, and to overthrow the Church of Rome?" [What an arrant falsehood!] And in page 54, to draw a line between the Church of Rome and the Protestants, he remarks, "the other religions have been established and are supported, by the aid of *libertines*, and of *factionous men*;

by the *force of arms*; by *severe penalties*; by *temporal rewards*, &c." A pretty compliment from a *Catholic* priest to a *Protestant* nation! Is this a suitable return for the toleration enjoyed, or sentiments likely to facilitate emancipation? Gracious heaven! What have we to expect from such men, were they ever to get the dominion over us?

From the contents of this section, it is manifest, that Papists own a foreign head as supreme, who can *dispense with the most sacred oaths*, and, consequently, that no confidence can be put in them. We see, also, that they have violated, in times past, their most solemnly pledged faith; that they have not only alarmed us with massacres, rebellion, and treason, but have actually filled our land with blood. And shall we now, out of love to Popery, endanger the safety both of our Church and State? What meritorious actions of the Papists entitle them to the favours they demand?

Let me not, however, be misunderstood. I am a strenuous advocate for liberty of conscience, and insist, that a Roman Catholic should enjoy his opinions in *religion*, as well as another. But if any man's opinions are destructive to the peace and happiness of society, though he may plead that they are articles of his creed, yet neither law nor equity can sanction *toleration* or *licence* in such a case, much less *emancipation*. The grant of this would betray the greatest folly and mental infatuation.

SECTION VII.

Roman Catholics not to be admitted to any share in the Government, 1. Because they cannot swear complete allegiance to the King, whose supremacy they consider as an usurpation upon a foreign Potentate, to whom they are bound to submit—
2. Because this subtraction of their allegiance to their temporal Prince, and their obedience to the spiritual power of

the Pope, has been confirmed by long and uniform experience—3. Because the most dangerous and extravagant pretensions have always been acted upon by the Popes, and are not, to this day, officially disclaimed, but maintained in their full extent, by the Popish clergy in Ireland—4. Because their religious principles, so very different from those of the Protestants, must render them unfriendly, if not decidedly inimical to our Church-establishment, which, consequently, may be subverted, if they become the stronger party in the State—5. Because it would be nugatory and incongruous to refuse to the King himself, the liberty of professing the Romish religion, or even of marrying a Papist, should he be allowed the choice, or exposed to the hazard, of being advised, and of transacting the affairs of Government, through the medium of Popish Ministers and Counsellors. Therefore, 6. The prayer of the Petition involves, in its consequences, the substitution of the Pope's supremacy for that of his Majesty's, the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and the two Acts of Union; and finally, the overthrow of the whole Constitution.

In considering the purport and objects of the Roman Catholic Petition, it is well worthy of remark, that the whole bears a strong resemblance to the memorable declaration of James the Second, in 1687, for liberty of conscience. There are, in both instruments, the same plausible professions of anxiety to conciliate and unite all religious persuasions—the same gracious promises to respect the property of the Established Church—the same appeals to the interests of trade, which always vibrate forcibly on a British ear—the same display of a generous earnestness to open every avenue of legalized ambition—and all this as a prologue to the demand of a full and equal participation of power, and of the means of acquiring power. Now, let it be recollected that this declaration was soon followed by another, which notified that *Papists* had been appointed to all the *principal offices of the State*, and recommended to the people to send *Papist Representatives* to the new Parliament.

From the epoch of that inauspicious precedent in 1687, to the æra of French fraternity, and Irish rebellion in 1798, the notions of an equality of political power had been suffered to lie dormant. During the greater part of that long period, the Irish Catholics had been subjected to a system of intolerance and restraints, perhaps too severe to be defended, except on grounds of necessity.

The first measure of any extent in favour of the Irish Catholics was in 1778. They were then empowered to take long leases, and were relieved from various incapacities, affecting both their properties and persons. The next material act for their benefit was in 1781; which, in addition to various indulgences contained in it, enables Papists to purchase and to hold estates, with the exception of advowsons. Hereby the Irish Catholics had an interest in the soil, and, consequently, a more immediate attachment to the welfare of the community. But the jargon of *emancipation* was then unknown—the æra of modern illumination was not yet arrived—that æra when it would be thought safe and practicable to maintain the limited monarchy, and Established Church of England *without test-laws*, and without any restraint or incapacities, affecting any description of sectarists.

The next and last concessions of any importance, were those which took place in 1792 and 1793. Lord Grenville, who opened the debate in the House of Lords, had been pleased to say, that all the framers and supporters of these measures must reflect on them with pride and satisfaction—Lord Buckinghamshire had expressed a similar sentiment: and certainly, it was an amiable and natural weakness in *parents* to speak with rapture and admiration of *very depraved and ugly children*. But for my part, I have always contemplated the abrupt and improvident concessions of 1793 with dissent and regret, as many others have done. For, those concessions placed the Protestants of Ireland in a relative situation, which impressed on every observing mind, the urgent necessity of a legislative union of the two kingdoms; and yet they tended to increase the difficulties of a measure,

which thus became essential to the peace and safety of the empire. Great as those concessions were, they only served to stimulate the appetite of the Irish Catholics for further claims; and, in 1795, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Fitzwilliam) shewed a strong disposition to gratify them to the full extent of their wishes. Happily he was not supported by the Government of that day, though it was composed of the *same* individuals, who now inconsistently urge the *same* measure for which they recalled the noble earl from his viceroyalty. The career of concessions to the Catholics was soon afterwards interrupted by the rebellion, (the horrors of which are too shocking for memory to dwell on,) and afterwards by the discussions and arrangements which eventually accomplished the union of the two kingdoms. In the result, a period of comparative tranquillity had been attained; and now the Roman Catholics and their advisers are earnestly urging the most unreasonable demands.

The professed object of the Petition is, to procure what is called "Catholic Emancipation." That term, however, is very improperly applied; for there is no *slavery* from which they are to be released. All that *tôleration* can require, in respect to civil and religious immunities, has been satisfied, in its most enlarged extent. From the pressure of many rigorous restraints, penalties, and disabilities, with which they were encumbered and weighed down, they have been delivered, under the gracious and beneficent reign of his present Majesty. By several successive statutes, they have been effectually emancipated from these burdens: so that they are now as free as the Protestants, in the acquisition, the enjoyment, and the disposal of property, of every species. They can purchase lands, settle their estates, and reap all the profits of commercial industry, equally with others of his Majesty's subjects; and, in the education of their children, and the choice of their marriages, they are equally unrestrained. The avenues to emolument and eminence, in the practice and profession of the law, are as open to them as to all others. They have the same right with Protestants to serve

on grand and petty juries, and upon all inquests civil and criminal. The right also of voting in counties for members of parliament has been conferred on them; a capacity to become justices of the peace is capable of being communicated to them, by his Majesty's commission of the peace, in the same manner as it is to other subjects; that is, of course, under the check and control of a sound discretion to be exercised on the part of the person holding the great seal, as to the objects to which it should be granted. All military and naval commissions, except those of principal command, and all offices, except a very few of the great offices of state, and the higher judicial offices, are attainable by them.

The enjoyment of their religious ordinances is likewise equally free and public. They are at full liberty to meet together in their churches and chapels, and worship our common Lord, agreeably to their own rites and usages. Unmolested, they may invoke the Virgin Mary, and even angels and saints. They may say masses for the dead, and strive to rescue souls out of their fancied purgatory, by their prayers. They may bow down to a consecrated wafer, or piece of bread, and adore a silver crucifix, or image of our Saviour. This, therefore, is not the *liberty* they want; for they are already in complete possession of it. Nay, I will go farther, and say, that if the Roman Catholics in Ireland labour under any real grievances, then Protestant Dissenters in England labour under more. The Romish priests may marry, and can perform any act of worship, without a bishop's licence: but not so the Protestant Dissenter in England. What excellency is there in Popery, to entitle them to still greater toleration? And again I would ask, how they have used the power they enjoy, and what Roman Catholic country gives to Protestants half the privileges they now have?

If, in the beginning of the year 1778, any person had ventured to predict to them, that such would, in the course of a very few years, be the condition of a people then kept under the restraints, penalties, and disabilities, I have alluded to, he would have been regarded as a rash and hardy utterer of a

vain prophecy, which had not the remotest chance of ever being accomplished. However, in the compass of fifteen years, by the gradual removal of these restraints, they have attained the accomplishment of all which, in their relative situation to the Establishments of the country, they can consistently ask, or the members of Parliament can, with due regard to their situation, as trustees for them and others, consistently bestow.

They have no grievances now to endure, which do not equally affect many other descriptions of British subjects. *Incapacities* are not *unknown to Protestants*. The Constitution demand *oaths, tests, and qualifications of all kinds*. Our liberty is sustained by a system of *checks*. The elective franchise is *limited*; the representative must shew his *qualification*; the Dissenter must conform to the *oaths*; the eldest sons of the peers of Scotland cannot be returned as representatives in parliament for that part of the kingdom; and, in short, no penalty now remains on the Roman Catholics which does not attach equally to other descriptions. Nay, the Roman Catholics of Ireland have more licence in the oath they are to take than Dissenters here; they are only to swear allegiance to the King and his family; but here the oath is to the King and his family *being Protestants*.

When a Scotchman seeks any of the high offices in the State, he is obliged to conform to the Church of England, and satisfy *the test-act*. But this the Catholics refuse; and yet, forsooth, desire the exclusive privilege of possessing a share of all the honours which Government can confer *without any test*.

In my opinion, sufficient reflection has not been bestowed on the value of what the Catholics now possess or enjoy by connivance. Nor are they friends to the Catholics, who speak of their being driven to despair, and of their groaning under long and endless oppression. Imagination often creates more sense of suffering, than does reality of cause; and we are frequently led to suppose ourselves objects of pity or disregard, by the mistaken or officious suggestions of pretended sympa-

thy. If we for a moment appreciate the real case as it is, we shall find that no penalties or restrictions remain which can be felt by *the great mass* of that people: and that not the grant of all which is required, would add a grain to their *real* wants or wishes: and in respect of the *few* who might be objects of supposed benefit by further indulgences, they are excluded only from certain situations by necessary regard for our constitutional establishment, and from which, in fact, they exclude themselves by refusal to aspire to them upon equal conditions with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

The laws which enjoin the taking the oath of supremacy are not *restrictive* nor *exclusive* laws, in respect to *any class* of people in the community, except to *traitors*, because it is merely an *oath of allegiance* to the State. No subject, refusing it, should be admitted to the functions of a legislator, nor to any place of trust and power in the State. To use the words of the prime minister, in the debate in 1790, on the attempt to repeal the test and corporation acts, "Persons professing modes of belief, which endanger the welfare of the society of which they are members, should be excluded from possessing the authority of the State; and here such line of exclusion should be drawn*." The Romanists in the British empire (but particularly in Ireland) enjoy a complete toleration and liberty of conscience. To use again the words of the same great minister, on the same occasion, "Toleration consists in a free exercise of religion, according to the tenets of the professors of that religion, and in the enjoyment of the protection of the laws; not in a communication of an *equality of political power*†."

Yet, this equality the Roman Catholics boldly claim. Accordingly, the substance of their Petition has been compressed into one short, but pregnant sentence: "an equal participation on equal terms of the full benefits of the British laws and Constitution." Had I been at liberty to understand

* Historical Register, 1790, p. 14, Mr. Pitt's speech.

† Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxvii. p. 209.

the sentence, according to the ordinary acceptation of the words, I might have answered, that such participation they already enjoy: but the framers of the Petition, who are doubtless the best commentators of their own work, will not suffer me so to interpret them. Equal participation on equal terms in *their* language, signifies, admission to places of power and trust, without giving that security for the due discharge of them, which is demanded of every member of both Houses, and every other subject of the realm. The object of the Petition, though couched in very decent and moderate terms, is nevertheless of *great size and importance*. It is no less than a request on the part of the *Roman Catholics*, to legislate for a *Protestant* country; to dispense the laws, to command the armies and navies, and to take share in the executive Councils of a Protestant kingdom: a request which strikes at the principles of the Revolution, and, by plain, broad, and inevitable consequence, calls into question the justice and policy of the *Act of Settlement*. What, then, is the *real* object of the Petition? *Power! political power!* This is all that remains for the legislature to give, or for *them* to demand.

When this matter was debated in Parliament, it was admitted by those who espoused the Catholic cause, that the Petition was not grounded on any claim of *right*, on any principle of *toleration*, or any *compact*, express or implied, at the time of the Union. It resolves itself, therefore, into a question of *expediency*. In arguing that question, I shall not cling with a blind attachment to the acts and system of former ages, though sanctioned by the settlement in favour of the House of Brunswick, and by the blessings resulting from it. I am well aware, that the objects and principles of legislation must change with the change of times, and must accommodate themselves to the interests and exigencies of the day; but not a single doubt rests in my mind, that the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from political power, contributes essentially to our free and happy Constitution, and ought still to be maintained, for its continued security. The sta-

bility of the Protestant Church, and of that mild and true religion, which, by its precepts and influence, is so incorporated with the State, that they must stand or fall together, should be the settled principle of every pious and loyal mind. If we admit the Roman Catholics to a full participation of all corporate franchises within the empire, and of all official, judicial, and legislative powers, we admit the enemy within our camp. It is a desire implanted in the human breast, for men to extend the predominance of that religion which they believe; nay more, it is the sacred and prescribed duty of the Papist (if he be sincere in his creed) to undermine our Church Establishment—for he believes it to be fatal to the souls of all who belong to it—he must feel that, in demolishing our Constitution in Church and State, he is rendering a service to his fellow-creatures, and to God. It is a fundamental principle of the Church of Rome, to exercise spiritual dominion over the Christian world. The titular bishops, at their ordination, swear “to defend, enlarge, and extend the authority of the Roman Church and of their Lord the Pope.” Their metropolitans in Ireland avow the same obligation, and proclaim, *at this hour*, in their publications, that the spiritual power of the Pope *is the same as ever*. These doctrines are industriously enforced by the priests, on the minds of their parishioners. We must not persuade ourselves that *religion* is similar to the ordinances of human institution, and capable of being qualified and restrained in its energies by law. The Roman Catholics are bigots to religion; its principles are irreconcilable to other persuasions, and its hierarchy is incessantly and indefatigably active, and subject also to the occasional influence of *foreign* States.

If the sect thus described, should become co-ordinate in power with the reformed religion of the British empire; if we once admit the theoretical solecism of a *Protestant* monarch and *Papist* Councils; we shall find ourselves in the predicament which the author of “*The Pursuits of Literature*” emphatically calls a *religious anarchy*.

The Church and the State are necessarily connected, each

giving support to the other. Roman Catholics, hostile to the one, cannot have the same attachment to the other, as Protestants have, whose tenets are so far from being *hostile* to either, that they are *favourable* to both. Notwithstanding that the King must not only *be*, but must always *have been* a Protestant, were his advisers (upon whose judgment he is to act) to possess principles not congenial with those of the State, the Constitution must gradually (and the more dangerously, because perhaps imperceptibly) be impaired. In this country, tests were adopted gradually, and in succession, with great and progressive caution, 1st, as to corporation-offices, then as to offices held under Government, then as to both Houses of Parliament, and then as to the Throne, each successive regulation being adopted from conviction that it was a necessary addition to the then existing regulations. At once, therefore, to annul all those regulations would be a most perilous experiment, especially as it would prodigiously strengthen the hands of a party, which we have every reason to believe are enemies both to our civil and religious Establishment.

Some modern philosophers, indeed, and modern orators, affect to make light of those constitutional guards, though their ancestors highly valued them; and what is more, both King and Queen swore, at their coronation, that they would inviolably maintain them. For my part, I can never bring my mind to that levelling liberality, which would consider the reformed Church of Scotland, the bigoted Church of Rome, and all the sectarist bodies within the British Empire, as entitled, in justice and expediency, to the same political privileges, powers, and functions, with the episcopal Protestant Church.

We have seen, within a short space of time, many awful warnings of the visitations of Providence in the fall of states and kingdoms, and in the vicissitudes of human affairs. If those calamities can be traced to *innovations* in *civil* government, and to *indifference* respecting *religious* establishments, have we not good cause to adhere to a system of which we

have had a long and beneficial experience? Let us keep in mind that we have more to risk than any nation under heaven—let us recollect the object of the present long and perilous war; a war already of nineteen years duration, for it can hardly be said to have been suspended by the treaty of Amiens. Is it not a war against the spirit of *innovation* and of *change*, to which so large a part of Europe has fallen a victim? And, did it not commence for the safety of our civil and religious Constitution? So long as the ancient fences of that Constitution shall be preserved, I am confident that we have nothing essential to dread; and yet I am not blind to the increasing dangers and protracted difficulties which still press upon us.

There was a time when it was held that the fundamental laws of civil society must rest upon a religious establishment; now, however, it is asserted, that the established religion ought to have no peculiar protection; and at other times, though the propriety of a peculiar protection is admitted, it is at the same time gravely contended, that this protection might very well be entrusted to persons of a different faith—that Catholic chancellors, Catholic judges, Catholic counselors, and Catholic legislators, might be faithful guardians of the Established Church: but if the Catholics be true to their own principles, I cannot help saying, that to entrust them with such power, would tend to the utter extinction of the Protestant Establishment. When I look at the genius of the Catholic religion—the exclusive spirit which unavoidably pervades it—when I look at its general doctrines—that salvation is not to be had out of the pale of the Catholic Church, I cannot but be alarmed at admitting them to be guardians of a Protestant Establishment. The fact that the Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, are admitted to the highest offices in the country, has no bearing on the question. They may be very safely trusted; for there is a principle of union among the Protestant sects in all their varieties; whereas the Catholics, if they hold the sentiments ascribed to them by their most approved authors, must be anxious for the des-

truction of the Protestant Religion. The question then comes to this,—whether, for the purposes of civil government, one religion is not as good as another; or whether, if one be more proper than another, the protection of that one ought to be entrusted to those who must necessarily be anxious for its *destruction*, or confided to those only who are interested in its preservation. Both in a religious and a political view, historical reflection will recall many events, the contemplation of which cannot be favourable to the Catholic Claims. It is easy to compose declamations on shewy theoretical principles, but it is not so easy to give them a safe practical operation. I would advise every man to reflect on the history of the past, and then to say, how far it may be prudent to give an accession of power to the Catholics; or even to relax the securities of the established religion.

It is not possible, I think, to stop at the proposed concessions, enormous as they are: if it were admitted that the two religions shall be co-extensive in *civil* privileges, the establishment of the Protestant Church becomes, from that moment, a public wrong. The Petitioners are pleased to assure us, that they “do not seek to encroach upon the revenues or possessions appertaining to our bishops and clergy.” Nothing is so false in principle, or in practice, as the notion of giving much, that nothing more may be asked—

“The cruel something unpossess’d
Corrodes and leavens all the rest.”

Some think, or pretend to think, that the Petitioners are *sincere* in their professions, yet it is idle and vain to take the sentiments of the great body of the Catholics from a few individuals, who can only answer for themselves; and even these cannot positively say, what their sentiments and conduct might be under different circumstances. They might fairly and honestly, and with the best intentions in the world, pursue a line of conduct which might ultimately be attended with the most calamitous consequences to the country. I would not, therefore, place them in a situation,

where their conduct, though perfectly well intended, on their part, might be productive of such baneful effects.

Surely, every man who maturely considers the main design of the Petition, and seriously weighs the consequences which would be likely to ensue from the grant of it, will immediately resolve to oppose it with all his might.

The Petition prays, that all statutes now in force against Romanists (that is, all statutes requiring them to take *tests* as qualifications for offices, and seats in Parliament) may be repealed, and they may be restored to the full enjoyment of the benefits of the British Constitution, equally and in common with their fellow-subjects, throughout the British empire:—this they claim too as matter of *justice* and *public utility*. Now it is very remarkable, that this measure thus demanded, upon the grounds of justice and public utility, is the very measure which King James II. attempted to force upon the nation, and for which he forfeited the crown handed down to him by a long and illustrious line of ancestors; and that the reasons given by him for his attempt, are the very same reasons pleaded by the Petitioners, and their advocates for the *justice* of their demands; to wit, “that it would cause and promote a brotherhood of affections, and a conciliation of religious differences, and render the nation happy at home, and formidable to foreign nations.” See his declaration for general liberty of conscience, the letter left upon his table previous to his flight to France, and his speech to his pretended Popish Parliament in Ireland, after his abdication. If his attempt were just, and the measure for the public benefit, it follows that he was unjustly dethroned; and the direct consequence of that is, that his present Majesty’s title to the throne is an *unjust* one. Let the reader determine whether such doctrine is or is not consistent with *loyalty*.

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no prudent man will ever throw them away. May God "teach our Senators wisdom," that they may see it would be a breach of their parliamentary trust, to destroy or abandon the great outworks of that Constitution, under which we have so long enjoyed such unparalleled blessings!

Feeling, as I do, the risk attendant on the proposed concessions, I earnestly deprecate the grant, and trust that Parliament will never comply, unless they are convinced that mankind is so changed, as to render all retrospect useless, and all experience vain.

The whole aim of the Petitioners unquestionably is, to obtain political power for themselves and their Catholic brethren. But the grant of this would effectually give them the ascendancy over Protestants.

By an Irish act of Parliament, in the year 1793, (acquired by British influence, and passed in opposition to the opinions of the best informed men in Ireland,) Romanists became entitled to vote at the elections of members of Parliament; and a freehold of forty shillings annual value entitles the person seized of it to a vote.

Now, the Irish *Romanists* are in the proportion of about two to one to the Irish *Protestants* in general; and the proportion among the peasantry of Ireland is greater in favour of the Romanists, than among the other classes of society. The landed estates in Ireland, in the possession of Protestants and Romanists, are in the proportion of fifty to one, in favour of the Protestants: but when the bill in 1793 passed, qualifying Romanists to vote for representatives in Parliament, the Protestant landlords, almost universally, changed the tenures of their Popish tenants, which before were for terms of years, into *freehold* leases; vainly imagining, that they would always retain influence enough with their Romish tenantry, to command their votes at elections. Little did they consider the all-ruling authority of Romish bigotry over its votaries, as many of them found to their great disappointment at the general election which first succeeded the year 1793. One gentleman of large landed property, and a representative of

a county, informed Dr. Duigenan (as he declared in the House of Commons) that he and his colleague had every reasonable expectation, from their great landed interest in the county, of being returned members for it, without any contest or expence: but a gentleman of very insignificant landed property in the county, unexpectedly declared himself a candidate, and went round to all the Romish chapels, soliciting the votes of the Romanists, and promising, if elected, to support all their pretensions in Parliament. On this occasion, the Romish tenants of the gentleman who gave Dr. Duigenan the information, made freeholders by himself, universally deserted him, and promised their votes to the new candidate; and the Romish priests through the country so effectually bestirred themselves with their votaries in support of the new candidate, that the Doctor's friend and his colleague were obliged to give a large sum of money to this adventurer, to induce him to abandon the canvass, and thereby to save themselves from the fatigue and expence of a contested election. Certain it is, that the whole body of the Romish peasantry, who, by the folly and credulity of their landlords, have been made freeholders, since the year 1793, will desert their interest on every election, when told by their priests that it is for the interest of their religion that they should do so. In the last Irish rebellion, the Popish peasantry pursued their landlords (most of them very indulgent to their tenants, and from their attachment to Romanists, entitled *men of liberality*) with the utmost fury and rancour, massacreing them and their families without mercy, when they fell into their hands. Such has been the frenzy of the Protestant landlords of Ireland, and their ambition of surpassing each other in county interest, that they have made almost the whole mass of the Popish peasantry forty-shilling freeholders, since the year 1793: so that the Romish freeholders of that description exceed, in number, the Protestant freeholders of every description, throughout three parts in four of Ireland: and if this measure shall take effect, Romanists will be returned members of Parliament for most

of the counties at large, county towns, and potwalloping boroughs throughout Ireland; and thus we shall either be represented by strangers, or unlettered boors. For, since the right of voting has been granted to Catholics, the manufacture of freeholders has increased so rapidly, that there is now scarcely a peasant, who does not swear himself possessed of a forty-shilling freehold. The principle of representation, in the British Constitution, that *property* should be the basis of representation, will be completely reversed in Ireland, and the basis there will be *numbers*, not *property*, which is the criterion of political power, more than the physical force of the self-willed multitude. Now, the Protestants possess this superiority, and love the constitutional liberty which accompanies it: they have defended and fought for both, in 1688, and in 1798. And though some affirm, that the rebellion of 1798 was put down, by other means than the Protestant exertions of Ireland, I boldly deny it; for it was overcome and reduced before one English militia regiment landed in that country: and if ever so direful a necessity should occur again, from either invasion or rebellion, I trust to the mutual support of the army and volunteers of both countries, and, in despite of all forebodings, have no doubt of the result.

But even in respect of *property*, the influence of Popery will be daily advancing in Ireland, because, in a commercial country, *land* is as often at market, and changes hands, as *personal* property; and landed as well as personal property will, in a slow but certain progression, creep to that class of the population which is the most numerous.

From the foregoing observations it is a just conclusion, that, in a very short time, if this measure is effected, eighty, at least, out of the hundred Irish representatives, will be Romanists; and it is fair to conjecture, that twenty or more Romanists will obtain seats in the imperial Commons for English boroughs, as the whole Romish faction throughout the empire will exert their powers to strengthen their party in Parliament; and some Romish peers will sit in the Upper House. The Romanists will certainly act in Parliament as

one body; their union, cemented by religious principle, and the interest of their sect, will smother every seed of dissension among them. All allurements of individual interest will fail of effect, when put in competition with the interests of their religion; their bigotry will bind them together in adamant bonds; and what their conduct in the supreme legislative council of the empire will be, it is not hard to divine.

The first measure they will unanimously propose, and with unremitting efforts pursue and support, will be the repeal of so much of the Irish act of 1793, conferring on them the elective franchise, as continues the disability of Romanists without taking the oaths, to fill about thirty or forty of the great offices of the state, in the departments of which is lodged the executive power of the government. By the incessant intrigues in Ireland of the English ministry, the *test and corporation acts* had been repealed, in that part of the empire, previous to the *Union*, with the exception of the abovementioned great offices of the state; namely, the offices of Lord Lieutenant, of Lord Chancellor, of the twelve Judges, of the Commander in chief of the army, of the King's Counsel, of Sheriffs, and a few others. If the prime minister of the day, at a future critical period, should oppose, or decline to support such a measure, the whole corps will immediately join the Opposition; and the Opposition, to secure the assistance of such numerous auxiliaries, will heartily fraternize with them. For, as long as human nature remains unchanged, while the Ministry wish to cling to their situations, the Opposition, *per fas aut nefas*, will wish to obtain them. Thus, in many cases of national distress and difficulty, the ablest minister, though adverse to their claims, will be unable to stem the torrent; and the part of the test and corporation acts, yet in force in Ireland, will not survive the admission of Romanists into Parliament for many sessions. When the capability of Romanists of filling these great offices in Ireland is once established, will it be practicable to exclude them from occupying them? Certainly it will not. Their

dissatisfaction at such *exclusion*, would be greater than at their former *disqualification*. The great majority of the Irish representatives in the imperial Parliament being Romanists, aided by the English Romanists, and indissolubly connected, would wring from the minister the whole civil patronage in Ireland, and secure all the offices there for their own sect: in fact, the civil establishment in Ireland would become completely Romish.

Would the Romish representatives in Parliament then be contented? Would their Clergy in Ireland, and the mass of their persuasion, acquiesce, without murmur, in the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues in lands and tithes, by the Protestant Clergy? Would they not immediately grasp at them? At this time, in Ireland, each parish has its titular priest, each diocese its particular bishop, and each province its titular arch-bishop: and these titular priests and prelates consider themselves as the rightful possessors of the respective parishes and sees, and treat the hierarchy of the Established Church as usurpers and intruders. Hence, the titular arch-bishop of Armagh publicly takes to himself the style of *Arma chene*, and designates the Lord Primate by the simple appellation of Dr. Stuart. The withholding from the Lord Primate the title which belongs to him, in itself is no great matter; but the claim to jurisdiction, in exclusion of the established priesthood and prelacy, is a serious consideration.

It will be conceded to me, I presume, that the Catholics have hitherto acted in a body. Why have they done so? Because they had common objects. And will not the same causes produce the same effects? If, then, the whole executive power of the state in Ireland be committed to Romanists; if the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, the Judges, Sheriffs, and all the administrators of the law in that nation should be Romanists, under the influence and control of their priesthood, who would warrant the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues there to the Protestant Clergy, or maintain their possession of them? The minister himself

would not be able to secure the laws entitling the Protestant Clergy to these emoluments from alteration and repeal, if the great body of the Irish representation in Parliament demanded such a sacrifice, which it would not fail to do; and, in the event of a division, their influence would be as a dead weight in the scale. Thus the utter subversion in Ireland of the *Church Establishment* would follow on the heels of the subversion of the *civil*, and Ireland would immediately become a Popish country.

But would the ambition of the Romish faction in the imperial Parliament stop here? Assuredly not. The tenets of Popery enjoin continual exertions for its propagation, support, and aggrandizement; and every Romanist would beside have the additional spur of particular interest and ambition, to stimulate him to further exertions on behalf of the sect. The test and corporation acts, being in full force in England, would oppose effectual barriers against the attainment of offices of profit and power in England by Romanists. They would observe, that Scotchmen, by the weight of Scottish representation in the imperial Parliament, much lighter than that of Irish and Romish representation, had obtained such offices in England, though they had almost engrossed all places of emolument or power in Scotland: they would also observe, that British and Irish Protestants were capable of enjoying offices in Ireland; but that British and Irish Romanists were excluded from all offices of emolument or power in England, by the test and corporation acts. They would then loudly complain of this inequality of condition with their fellow-citizens in the British empire, and state, that they were excluded from such offices in four-fifths parts of the British empire, and admitted only to the full privileges of citizens in the one-fifth, without having any exclusive privilege even in this one-fifth. If the minister of the day stood in need of their assistance in Parliament, as he often would, he must listen to such complaints, and listen with attention and favour. Circumstances might compel him to join them in their efforts to repeal the test and corporation

acts; and if he should determine to support these remaining bulwarks of the Constitution, they would join the whole herd of republicans, who have so often reprobated these statutes, and attempted their repeal. Two attempts of this nature, one in 1789, the other in 1790, must be in the recollection of many members of Parliament; and it required all the talents of the able minister, who at that time conducted the business of the nation, to defeat them. If the party which made these attempts shall be reinforced by above one hundred members, steady and determined in their hostility to these two statutes, who can answer for their continuance, as part of the law of the empire, for any length of time? They will undoubtedly yield to the incessant mining and continued assaults of a determined, vigilant, and insidious enemy, constantly recruited by the venomous offspring of infidelity, republicanism, and jacobinism: the Constitution, in Church and State, will infallibly sink under the combined pressure of such a chaotic mass of desolating innovation.

The attempt to obtrude this measure on the nation is, in fact, but the rehearsal of the first act of the Gallic tragedy on the British stage. The introduction of members of all sects into the Gallic national assembly, was followed immediately by the subversion, or rather extinction, of their national religion; and that by the complete subversion of their government, and the substitution of the most barbarous despotism, which ever ravaged and deformed any region of the civilized world. *Principiis obsta. Let us firmly resist all approaches of the ferocious monster, Gallic anarchy!*

Indeed, the complexion and spirit of the times, imperiously press this duty of circumspection upon us. Numbers, among all religious denominations, are uniting with the Roman Catholics, in support of their claims. And now calculate what the Dissenters of this country are. Though I am persuaded that numbers of them are truly pious, and as adverse to the Catholic cause at those of the Established Church, yet there is little doubt that the majority of the

Arians, Socinians, Presbyterians, and several smaller sects, would heartily concur in endeavouring to overturn our civil and religious polity. Add to these all such as are of no religion whatever, who would be glad to sacrifice the Establishment, in order to free themselves from tithes and taxes—consider the tempting state of the possessions of the Church as a source of taxation—contemplate the effects of an union of these bodies, acting systematically, and forming subscriptions—recollect that parties may be in this country, who would go all lengths to attain and maintain power, and nobody can calmly say, very serious attacks might not be made on the establishment of the Church.

We are told this is not a time to exclude men from the service of the State for religious opinions. In the first place, the Catholics are not generally excluded in Ireland; and secondly, it is not on account of *religious opinions*, but because they will not acknowledge the *supremacy of the king*, and come, in a general way of considering the subject, within the provisions of the 24th of Henry the Eighth. We are likewise told, that the Pope has now no power. But it is not the *temporal* power of the Pope, but the spiritual power of those over whom the Pope has great influence, which is to be considered; and if that unfortunate person, having disgraced his reverend hand by anointing an usurper, is a prisoner in his capital, and, under his direction, has a communication with Ireland, and spiritual mixed with *civil* authority, appointing the *hierarchy* of the country, unconnected with the crown, who can deny this is a solecism in politics, and cannot be contemplated without apprehension?

Certain it is, that the sway of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland is now most formidably great; and that there exists, at this day, a very numerous body of Romish priests devoted to the doctrinal opinions of the Church of Rome, and maintaining the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that court.

Dr. Troy, in his pastoral letter, 1793, expresses himself thus: "The Catholics are obliged to believe, as an article of

their faith, that the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, is the supreme visible head of the Church on earth, and the centre of Catholic unity, with a primacy by divine right, of *real authority and jurisdiction* in the universal Church, and that Catholics owe him canonical respect and obedience on that account; and that the *supremacy* of the Pope is one of those points on which all Catholics are agreed as an *immutable* article of their faith.* The clergy, therefore, of the Romish Church, must enforce this upon their bigoted votaries: and though it may be admitted that they have frequently used their influence, in the transactions between man and man, for good purposes, yet they also have the power of giving direction to the popular mind, with an effect inconsistent with the general safety. In corroboration of this opinion, I appeal to their conduct, in the late and in former rebellions. In Ireland, the British Government hitherto have seemed to feel no apparent interest in opposing

* When such a principle is openly avowed, at this day, who that wishes well to his King and country can encourage a people holding a doctrine, which, in the eye of the law, constitutes them *traitors*? "By statute, 5 Eliz. c. 1," (says Judge Blackstone) "to defend the Pope's jurisdiction in this realm, is, for the first time, a heavy misdemeanor, and, if the offence be repeated, it is *high treason*. And, by statute 3. Jac. 1. c. 4. if any natural born subject be withdrawn from his allegiance, and reconciled to the Pope, or See of Rome, or any other prince or state, both he and all such as procure such reconciliation, shall incur the guilt of *high treason*. The reason of distinguishing these overt-acts of Popery from all others, by setting the mark of *high treason* upon them, being certainly on a *civil* and not on a *religious* account. For every Popish priest of course renounces his allegiance to his temporal Sovereign, upon his taking orders, that being inconsistent with his new engagements of canonical obedience to the Pope: and the same may be said of an obstinate defence of his authority, here, or a formal reconciliation to the See of Rome, which the statute construes to be a withdrawing from one's natural allegiance; and, therefore, besides being reconciled to the Pope, it also adds, *or any other prince or state*."

the power and encroachments of the Roman Catholic clergy. The people have been left totally in their hands; and from that inattention, their great, much-boasted authority has arisen. The Roman Catholic clergy are now interwoven with the people in all the common concerns of life. It is true they cannot punish criminals; but criminals bear no proportion to the numbers in any state.

Let us now consider what is the effect of *excommunication* among the lower orders of Irish Papists. It excludes a man from his family, and renders him hateful to it; drives him from his little tenement, nay, precludes him from earning his livelihood, if dependent upon his labour; a power possibly greater than any possessed by the State, from its general diffusion, unsuspected influence, and extensive consequences. Add to these considerations, the recollection of confiscated property; the long series of injuries alleged to have been committed by the English against the Irish, the remembrance of which has been constantly kept alive by tradition, and by recent exaggerated statements; and the well-known historical fact, that claims to property cannot fail for want of hereditary succession, as, by the *Brehon* law, it exists not in *individuals*, but in the name and *sept*. You will then see the reasons and motives for that dislike to British connexion, which has ever influenced, and still influences the lower, and more numerous part of the Catholics of Ireland. A peasantry, directed by a Clergy, generally ignorant in every point but their school-divinity, all instigated by common motives of action, and irreconcilable to British connexion at present—under such circumstances, though we cannot anticipate what growing wealth and more diffused intercourse may hereafter effect, we must still be narrowly on our guard. For these reasons, I esteem a knowledge of the doctrines of the See of Rome, and their ascendant power over the Irish Clergy, and the Irish Catholics, as a most serious subject of consideration upon this occasion.

It should also be particularly observed, that *separation* from England has been the object invariably aimed at, by the

middling and lower order of Roman Catholics and the generality of their clergy, under every change of governors or government, proposed or attempted. Every passion, religious and temporal, all their traditions, all their prejudices, united to excite such feelings, and to render this sentiment predominant in their minds. Therefore we should be deceived most fatally, if we suffered ourselves to be persuaded that they have changed these sentiments. The best historians have agreed, that the Irish Catholics of King James's day, used him but as an instrument of *separation*; they rendered him desperate with England, to ensure success to their design, by forcing him to confiscate all the Protestant and British property in Ireland. It is evident, therefore, that nothing of political power can be conceded to the Irish Roman Catholics beyond what they already enjoy, unless their hierarchy can be reduced to a less offensive form, and the monstrous abuse of their spiritual authority be suppressed. But this, I fear, is an *Utopian* expectation.

Moreover, when we are called to give them political power, we are not to consider *Ireland* only—we must look to the situation of *England*, where the Catholics do not enjoy the same freedom as their Irish brethren. Are they less meritorious? Certainly not; and before we give further privileges to the Irish, we must put *them* on the same footing, and confer on those in Britain the right of voting for members, and all the other favors contained in the act of 1793. We must, in the next place, if we comply with the Petition for the Irish, make the English Catholics admissible also into the highest offices, and to seats in Parliament; and then the Catholics of England, Ireland, and Scotland, may sit indiscriminately for every place throughout the whole empire, into which they can find access, by any means they may think most likely to obtain for them the favourable opinion of the electors. Will you not pause a little here, and reflect before you proceed? Reflect that you have a Protestant Church, and how it would tremble under such a *change*; that men who profess the Catholic faith, and acknowledge a *foreign* potentate to have

spiritual authority within the realm, cannot be entrusted with framing laws for that Protestant Church, and the protection of the Protestant Establishment. On what foundation does that Church stand? Is it not on your *laws*? Do not its rites, its worship, its possessions, its hierarchy, its pre-eminence, all depend on the laws of the realm? And are you ready to fill your legislative assemblies with Catholics, with persons attached and bound to *another Church*? Do you forget the necessary alliance between Church and State, that if you endanger the one, you destroy the foundations of the other?

Upon this subject, one of the members in Parliament addressed the Speaker thus: "I would ask, Sir, is the House prepared to entertain this Petition, without going further? What is to become of the English Catholic, and English Dissenter? Sir, I should be ashamed to look the latter, or either, in the face, if I committed such flagrant injustice, as to exclude *them alone* from the privileges now required of us. If there are *tests* to which those professing certain creeds cannot subscribe, are *they alone* to be bound by the influence of conscience, and its dominion denied, where it should most prevail, and where it is the bond of our liberties and our laws? No, sir; and until some reconciling mean can be adopted, let us remain as we are, and all unite in maintaining against the common enemy that Constitution so superior to all others, and which is the sole refuge of civil liberty in this quarter of the world."

If these wanted any further arguments to induce us to withhold all civil power from the Catholics, I would bid my reader look to the present situation of the Pope, nominated to the See of Rome, by the bitter and avowed enemy of this country, existing but by his permission, and suffered by him to exist only from motives purely political. In case of an invasion, and a probability of success, can we doubt of the Pope's subserviency, in every particular, to the designs of Buonaparte, against this country? Can we suppose that either bulls or briefs, influence public or private, that any of the implements of superstition will be kept back, if they can

be employed with effect, in furthering the purposes of treason and rebellion, in detaching the subject from his allegiance to the Sovereign? What the effect of these endeavours may be, I will not presume to say; I sincerely wish it may be less than I apprehend, nay, that they may totally fail. All I aver, is, that they *will* be employed; and, under those circumstances, I think, that it is even mercy to the Roman Catholics, not to put them in situations, where they may be tempted to act contrary to their real interests, as well as to their duty.

My firm belief is, that, as things now are, without a Protestant Church, our Constitution cannot be preserved. If, therefore, the Petitioners really feel that veneration for it which they profess, they should be as ready as we are, to deprecate all tampering with its foundations.

To increase our just jealousy, and needful vigilance, I would only ask, how many times have Irish Catholics proffered their services, nay, tendered their crown, to foreign potentates? When General Humbert landed in Ireland, by what description of men was he joined? Were they not, *exclusively*, Roman Catholics? What need of any further instance? What can we say stronger of any set of men, than that they preferred Buonaparte to their lawful Sovereign, George the Third?

I therefore consider it particularly mischievous at this moment, by any measure whatever, to strengthen the hands of those who must necessarily be objects of suspicion. At any time, I should have thought, that the granting of this Petition must put our Establishment, in Church and State, to the most imminent hazard; but, at this *critical juncture*, it leads to no less than the total destruction of the kingdom.

We must consider the Roman Catholics of Ireland as persons who refused to submit to those laws and principles of Reformation which had transformed this country from a Catholic to a Protestant country. They were now disposed in Ireland to resist the laws in that particular, and will probably continue to do so. They must, therefore, be dealt with ac-

cordingly; and, under such circumstances, it would be the greatest madness to put into their hands more political power than they already possess.

Britons, it is necessary to call to your recollection, and set before your eyes, the statutes, the repeal of which must precede, or inevitably follow, the adoption of this measure; because this display must convince you, that this measure, and its consequences, directly tend to the complete subversion of your Constitution, which has been improving from the commencement of the glorious reign of Elizabeth, till its attainment of its present unrivalled excellence! under which you and your ancestors have lived and flourished, for two centuries; and which has descended, as an inheritance, during that period, in succession from father to son.

The statute of the first of Elizabeth, enacting that all public officers shall take *the oath of supremacy*—that of the first of William and Mary, or, *the bill of rights*, new modelling the oath of supremacy, and extending the sphere of administration of that oath—the acts of the thirtieth of Charles II., and the first of George I., enacting that no member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in the presence of the House, taken the oaths of *allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration*, and repeated and subscribed the declaration—the act of the thirteenth of Charles II., called the *test-act*, requiring all public officers to take the above oaths, repeat and subscribe the declaration, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the Church of England—and the act of the twenty-fifth of Charles II., called the *corporation-act*, incapacitating all persons from being elected officers of any city or corporation, without their having, within a twelve-month previous to their election, received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the Church of England; and also requiring them to take the above-mentioned oaths—all these acts, I say, must be repealed! all the fortifications, so long erected for the safety and preservation of our Constitution in Church and State, must be levelled with the dust!

Judge Blackstone, an able and constitutional lawyer of modern days, states, that the acts requiring all members of both Houses to take the oaths, &c., were enacted *to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government*. The test and corporation acts he styles *the bulwarks of the Constitution*; and states, that they were enacted to secure the Established Church against perils from Non-conformists of all denominations, among which he particularly makes mention of *the Papists*.*

It is now time to advert to the conditions of *union* between England and Scotland, and between Great Britain and Ireland, which relate to the Church Establishment; and to inquire whether the present measure can be adopted, consistently with the obligation of these conditions, and the preservation of the public faith.

In the act of Union of England and Scotland, the fifth of Anne, ch. 8. two acts of the respective parliaments of England and Scotland, for the unalterable security of their respective Church Establishments, are recited: that of England being for *effectually and unalterably* securing the true Protestant religion, professed and established by law in the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof. The English acts of uniformity of Elizabeth and Charles II. and *all other acts then in force* (among the rest, the thirtieth of Charles II. beforementioned), *for the preservation of the Church of England*, are declared *perpetual*: and it is enacted, that every subsequent King and Queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. And it is further enacted, that these two acts shall for ever be observed, as *fundamental and essential conditions of the Union*. On these conditions of the treaty of union, Judge Blackstone makes these observations: "That whatever else may be deemed fundamental and essential conditions, the preservation of the two

* See Blackstone's *Commen.* vol. i. p. 158, and vol. iv. p. 57, 8vo. edition.

Churches of England and Scotland, in the same state they were in at the time of the Union, is expressly declared so to be; and that therefore *any alterations* in the constitutions of either of these Churches, would be an infringement of these fundamental and essential conditions." The fifth article of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland is in the following terms: "That the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant episcopal Church, to be called the united Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united Church shall be and shall remain in full force *for ever*, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united Church, as the established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an *essential and fundamental* part of the Union: and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall remain, and be preserved, as the same are now established by law, and by the act of the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland."

It is clear, then, that every measure tending to the breach of these fundamental and essential conditions of the two Unions, ought to be rejected by Parliament with indignation: the very proposal of such a measure is an insult to its members; as it must be founded on the presumption, that Parliament is capable of *violating the public faith*, reciprocally plighted by the nations composing the British empire to each other, on their consolidation into one body. If this measure should be adopted, the act of the thirtieth of Charles II. requiring all members of both Houses to take *the oath of supremacy*, and repeat and subscribe the declaration, will be repealed by its adoption, as well as *the Bill of Rights* and *the Test and Corporation Acts*: these are made *perpetual* by the conditions of the Union of England and Scotland, being enacted for the preservation and continuance of the Church of England; and, as Judge Blackstone expresses it, "for the prevention of crude innovations in religion and government." Exclusive of this direct

breach of the conditions of the Union, it is already shewn, that the whole tendency of the measure, and its notorious consequences, are, the subversion of the Established Church in Great Britain and Ireland; the introduction of infidelity and atheism, by the annihilation of all the bonds of society, springing from an established religion; and the consequent introduction of anarchy and democracy—the true reason (however disguised under the mask of *liberality*) why this desolating, faithless, Gallic measure has met the approbation, and acquired the patronage and support of all the *Jacobins* in the British empire.

It is, however, some consolation to reflect, that the subjects of this empire, attached to the Constitution, have yet one barrier left to resist that inundation of impiety, democracy, and barbarity, with which this measure is calculated to overwhelm it: that is, his Majesty's *coronation oath*; which the celebrated Lord Somers formerly said, "ought to be revered as the Magna Charta of England." This barrier was raised by the wisdom, piety, and patriotism of our forefathers; and is sufficient to defend us, under Divine Providence, while his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, retains the sentiments once expressed upon this subject by his pious and conscientious Father—and which, doubtless, his real interest, manly firmness, and solid understanding, will strongly urge him to retain.

The oath enjoined by the statute of the first of William and Mary, to be taken by the King at his coronation, has the following clause: "I will, to the *utmost of my power*, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and *the Protestant reformed religion established by law*." By the act of Anne, ratifying the Union of England and Scotland, as is already stated, it is enacted, "that two acts of the respective Parliaments of England and Scotland, for the unalterable security of their respective Church establishments therein recited, shall be *perpetual*;" and in both of these recited acts, an addition is made to the *coronation oath*; and it is enacted, "that the succeeding kings of Great Britain shall, at their

coronations, swear to maintain and preserve *inviolably* the settlement of the Church of England, as specified in that statute, for the *unalterable* security of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as in that act specified." A similar oath is prescribed to be taken at the coronation by all succeeding Kings, for the *inviolable* preservation of the then established religion in Scotland. This oath not only binds the King to refuse his assent to *any alteration* in the religions of England, Ireland, and Scotland, as they were established at the time of the Union of England and Scotland; but he is equally bound to refuse his assent to any measure, directly tending to the subversion of the religion then established; and also to discountenance, as far as in him lies, all attempts of that nature.

It is, therefore, sincerely to be hoped, that there will be such harmony always subsisting between the King and both Houses of Parliament, that no bill will be ever offered to his Majesty for his assent, which he is bound by his oath to *reject*, and also by the express conditions of the two Unions consolidating the British empire. And indeed, I must say, that the tendering a bill for his signature, which would manifestly tend to a violation of his coronation oath, would be an egregious insult to him.

I shall now return to the consideration of the Petition which has excited so much interest. As the Lords and Gentlemen who signed it, have particularly stated, that the principles, religious, moral, and political, set forth in their Petition, are expressly inculcated by the religion they profess; it will be incumbent upon me specially to examine the principles taught by their religion, as they are laid down by their own writers, ancient and modern, and as they are warranted by the uninterrupted practice of their Church for ages. It will, however, be first necessary to examine how, and in what manner, they are disqualified from enjoying offices of trust, and occupying seats in Parliament.

The only obstacle at present to the occupation of seats, in the two Houses of Parliament, by the members of this sect,

arises from the laws enjoining the taking of *the oath of supremacy*, and repeating and signing the declaration against transubstantiation, &c. by *all* the members of both Houses, previous to their taking their seats, and voting; with which injunction if *Romanists* complied, they would be as capable of occupying seats in Parliament as *Protestants*. This injunction they obstinately refuse to obey, and thereby exclude themselves. If, indeed, they would offer to take *the oath of supremacy*, there might be some plausible arguments adduced, for the repeal of the parts of these acts which enjoin the repetition and subscription of the declaration against transubstantiation, &c.; because that is a declaration against certain doctrinal points held by *Romanists*, which do not immediately tend to a disavowal of the supreme authority of the State, so far as to countenance or command a resistance to the civil magistrate, and is a matter of opinion only, unconnected with the Government: but their rejection of *the oath of supremacy* is an open avowal, that they do not admit the State to have any just power to compel their submission to its laws, in any point of *temporal* government, intimately and inseparably connected with the administration of the supreme power in *spiritual* matters; that is, in other words, they refuse and reject an *oath of allegiance* to the State, and insist that there is an *extraneous* power paramount to that of the State, to which their *allegiance* is due in all *spiritual* matters, or in all matters which that power shall deem *spiritual*; and in all *temporal* matters which are indissolubly united with such *spiritual* supremacy, which amount to nearly one half of the whole *temporal* power of a state; and may indeed swallow up the whole, which it has attempted in many countries: because the determination of what portion of dominion, in *temporal* matters, is within the vortex of *spiritual* supremacy, is left to a *foreign ecclesiastic*, and his vassals the *Romish priests*. Within this empire, the Pope never did claim any *temporal* power, save under the pretext, that it was inseparably annexed to the supreme *spiritual* power, and a consequence of it. What immense *temporal* power he claimed, and in fact exercised within this

realm, under such pretence, let our histories and statutes declare—the fourth Lateran general Council shews the extent of the authority over *temporal* princes, and their dominions, claimed by the Pope.

The qualifying subjects, who hold so anarchical a doctrine as a *point of faith*, to become part of the supreme power, by admitting them to a share of the legislative authority in a Protestant State, and that too a State the most forcible part of whose supremacy is lodged in a *popular assembly*, is in its own nature an absurdity, and must, if effected, be attended with the most ruinous consequences to the Constitution.

As to the oath of *supremacy*, it was originally framed in the reign of King Henry VIII. merely as an oath of *allegiance*; the usurpations of the Pope then becoming intolerable in England, he claiming and exercising a power over the subjects, under the mask of *spiritual* power, or as closely annexed to it, equal to the power of the crown at least, and in many cases paramount to it, and subversive of it.*

By this oath, in its original form, the King was declared to be the *only supreme head on earth* of the Church of England and Ireland.

This clause was objected against, as an acknowledgment of a sacerdotal power in the King. To obviate this, he declared publicly, that he claimed only a *civil supremacy*; “that he made no pretensions to any *sacerdotal power*; that his supremacy was not that purely *spiritual* power which is lodged in the Church, but a *temporal* supremacy over all the *spiritual* power of it within his own dominions.”

All the great officers of the State, bishops, and nobility within this realm (two excepted—Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester), took this oath.

Romanists were then better subjects than they are at present!

* See preambles to the statutes of the 24th Hen. VIII. ch. 12, 25; 25th Hen. VIII. ch. 21; 26th Hen. VIII. ch. 1; 32d Hen. VIII. ch. 38; and the Irish statutes of the 28th Hen. VIII. ch. 13; 2d Eliz. ch. 2.

The objection, however, being still urged by the partisans of the court of Rome, Queen Elizabeth, at the commencement of her reign, changed that clause in the oath, and inserted in its room, "that the King (or Queen) is the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* things or causes, as *temporal*; and that no *foreign* Prince, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

To guard against any perverse interpretation of this oath, she published injunctions, wherein she declared, that "she pretended to *no priestly power*; that she challenged no authority, but what was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of England; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her dominions, of what estate, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them." The Romanists, however, by the anathemas of the Pope, were so changed for the worse, and their obligation of fidelity to their Prince and country so loosed, since the reign of Henry, that they universally rejected this oath, though simply *an oath of allegiance* to their natural Sovereign.

On the accession of James II., a bigoted Papist, he, finding himself invested by this oath with the supreme governance of the Established Church, was induced, by his bigotry, in *direct breach of his coronation oath*, to use this authority for the subversion of the Established Church; and this danger to the Church, from the Monarch's being endued with such power, was noticed by the sagacious patriots who conducted the *Revolution*; and, on that glorious event, they determined to rescue the Church from such peril, and expunged from the oath of supremacy the clause, "that the King is the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* things or causes, as *temporal*;" so that the subject is now only bound to swear, by the *oath of supremacy*, to the independence of the empire on any *foreign* power; and it

is merely and simply *an oath of allegiance* to the State. In fact it was always so, and such as no subject, who is not a traitor, can conscientiously refuse. It is, as it now stands, completely purged of all *reasonable*, or even *plausible* objection. It never was an oath of *exclusion*, or even of *restriction*, unless of *traitors*—it is absolutely, strictly, and literally conformable to the ancient and acknowledged common law of the realm. That ancient common law is acknowledged, repeated, and recognized, in the preamble of the statute of *Præmunire*, enacted in the sixteenth of Richard II., at the time this kingdom was in communion with the Romish Church. That statute recites, "that the crown of England hath ever been free, and subject to none, but immediately unto God; and the laws and statutes of this realm ought not to be submitted to the bishop of Rome, to be defeated at his pleasure, to the destruction of the King, his crown, and his regalia, and of all the realm, which God defend." This was the voice of the people in open Parliament at that time.*

The Romanists of this day complain of the laws which enjoin the taking of this oath, declaring that they cannot in conscience take it; that it is to them an *exclusive* oath, as they cannot sit in Parliament without taking it; and they and their abettors (among whom in this point they muster all the Jacobins in the country) desire to have these laws repealed. Now, what is all this, but, virtually at least, pleading thus: We are from conscience *traitors* to our country; we maintain that our country *is subject to a foreign power*; we are always ready to support the authority of that foreign power in every possible way, by arms or otherwise, and to bow down our country to its authority. We therefore demand the repeal of the laws which oblige us to swear allegiance to the constitutional governing powers of our country; which repeal will be a national acknowledgment of the dependence of our country on, and its subjection to, a *foreign*

* See the statute, Carte's Ormond, vol. i. from page 36 to 42. See also Davis's Reports, case of *Præmunire*.

tribunal. It will enable us to procure seats in the great supreme Council of the nation; and confer power on us to betray the independence of our country. The Pope and all our divines assure us, that we are bound in conscience to do so, when we shall procure power. Dr. Troy, our archbishop of Dublin, an eminent dignitary of our Church, in his Pastoral Letter, published in 1793, has told us, "that it is a fundamental article of the Roman Catholic *faith*, that the Pope or Bishop of Rome is successor to St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, in that See: that he enjoys by divine right, a spiritual and ecclesiastical primacy, not only of honour and rank, but of real jurisdiction and authority in the universal Church: that Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Rome: that Henry VIII. of England was the first Christian Prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, and commanded an *enslaved Parliament* to enact it as a law of the State, and that the Catholics consider it as an *usurpation*." Pursuant to this doctrine, we the Catholics will endeavour, by every means in our power, to free ourselves from that *usurpation*: and pray, good Protestant *usurpers*, assist us in doing so! Put us into a capacity of effecting it! that is, of betraying our common country to dependence and slavery!

The patrons of the Catholic claims argue, "that the sentiments of Romanists are changed for the *better* from what they were formerly." It is already shewn, that if they have suffered any change, since the reign of Henry VIII., the change has been for the *worse*; and that they now avow greater hostility to the constitutional independence of the nation (justifying that hostility upon *principle*) than they did at that period. But to give a clear and explicit refutation of this argument, it will be necessary to expose the avowed principles of the Romish religion in respect to temporal governments; to inquire whether they have been ever disavowed, and whether any *material* change has been effected in them at any, and at what period.

And first, it is necessary to state, that all Romish bishops,

and among the rest his Majesty's subjects now resident in the British dominions, under the denomination of *titular* bishops and archbishops (who, in direct defiance of the laws, assume the titles of *most reverend* and *right reverend*, being the titles of *real* archbishops and bishops of this realm), at their respective consecrations, swear *an oath of allegiance to the Pope*, which is utterly inconsistent with their duty to his Majesty and the State. Among other clauses (all exceptionable) are the following—"that they will from that hour forward be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to their *lord* the Pope, and his successors, canonically entering: that the papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the *regality* of St. Peter, they will keep, maintain, and defend against *all men*. The rights, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, they will cause to be conserved, defended, *augmented*, and *promoted*." Another clause in the oath is, "that heretics, schismatics, and *rebels* to the holy father and his successors, they will resist and persecute to their power."*

I shall next repeat an extract from the oath taken by all Romish priests at their ordination.

"Fifthly, the holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, I acknowledge to be the mother and mistress of all Churches; and to the Roman Pontiff, successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, vicar of Jesus Christ, I promise and swear true obedience.

"Sixthly, all doctrines delivered, defined, and declared by the *sacred canons*, and by the *general Councils*, and *especially by the most holy Council of Trent*, without the smallest doubt I receive and profess; and whatsoever is contrary thereto,

* This clause Dr. Tory states to be now omitted in the oath of Romish bishops, in countries not in communion with the Romish Church, at the instance of the late Empress of Russia, who made that a condition of her permitting a Romish bishop to reside within her dominions. *If* such be the case, the oath is sufficiently hostile to a Protestant government without it.

and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I equally condemn, reject, and anathematize.

"Seventhly, *this true Catholic faith, out of which there is no salvation, which at present I freely profess, and sincerely hold*, I do promise, vow, and swear, that I will most constantly retain and conserve inviolate, with God's help, unto the last breath of my life; and that, as far as in me lieth, I will be careful that it be held by, taught, and preached to my subjects*, or those the care of whom shall belong to me in my function. So HELP ME GOD."

The next evidence of the principles of the Romish religion, in respect to temporal governments, which it is proper to adduce, is the decrees of the fourth general Lateran Council held under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, in its third chapter. This Council consisted of four hundred bishops, and eight hundred other fathers.

"These decrees assert the power of the Church (that is, of the Pope) of disposing of the dominions of kings and princes; commanding temporal lords to purge their dominions of heresy, under pain of excommunication; absolving their subjects from their allegiance, and exposing their dominions to the invasion of Catholics; denouncing against kings, rulers, and subjects, guilty or even suspected of heresy, or inactivity in detecting and punishing heretics, the most terrible temporal punishments, such as *confiscation, banishment, torture, and death*; declaring that *no faith is to be kept with heretics*, nor conventions nor agreements made with them; or if made, that they were *nullities* in themselves, and that no communication of any kind is to be held with them."

The Council of Constance in 1415, the subsequent Council of Basil, and the famous Council of Trent, of later years, in the sixteenth century, all confirmed the decrees of the Lateran Council, particularly in respect to *heresy*. That of

* All Romish priests call their parishioners subjects, in Latin *subditi*.

Constance, in conformity with the decrees of the Lateran Council, compelled Sigismund, king of the Romans, to break his faith with John Huss, and deliver him up to the Council, contrary to his faith and safe-conduct, declaring, "that no safe-conduct given to a heretic, under what covenant soever, by any emperors, kings, or other secular princes, ought to exempt such heretic from the judgment of his competent ecclesiastical judge, who may punish him, though he come to the place of judgment, confiding in that safe-conduct, without which he would not have come;" and accordingly John Huss was condemned for heresy by that Council, in its twelfth session, and *burned alive* in its fifteenth.

In conformity with the decrees of the Council of Lateran, Pope Pius V. *excommunicated Queen Elizabeth*, and *absolved her subjects from their allegiance*. His bull for that purpose was afterwards renewed, and confirmed, by his successor, Gregory XIII. Pope Clement IX. in conformity with the same decrees, issued his bull, enjoining the English Romanists to do their utmost to keep out the Scottish heretic (so he styled King James I.), that he might not in any wise be admitted to the kingdom of England, unless he would reconcile himself to Rome, *and hold his crown of the Pope*, and conform himself and all his subjects to the religion of the Roman Church.

It is to be remarked, that all these bulls were issued, not from the private ambition of the Popes and Court of Rome, but in direct conformity with the injunctions and decisions of the general Councils of the Romish Church.

The Pope's legate at Brussels, in the year 1768, when an oath was in contemplation in Parliament to be taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, wrote to Ireland in the following manner respecting that oath:—That the abhorrence and detestation of the doctrine, that *faith is not to be kept with heretics*, and that *princes deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects*, as expressed in that proposed oath, are absolutely intolerable; because, as he stated, those doctrines are defended and contended for by most Catholic na-

tions, and the holy See has frequently followed them in practice. In short, he declared, that as the oath was in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it was invalid, null, and of no effect, insomuch that it could by no means bind or oblige consciences.

It is now time to come to authorities still more *modera* in this point, and those of men of the Romish persuasion. Dr. Troy, the Romish archbishop of Dublin (who at this day openly assumes, and uses, the arms of that archbishopric, surmounted with a cardinal's cap, whence I presume him to be a cardinal), in a treatise which he entitles a Pastoral Letter, published by him in London and Dublin, so late as the year 1793, asserts, "that all Roman Catholics consider the express decisions of their general Councils as *infallible* authority in point of doctrine." And Dr. Hussey, who informs us that he is Romish bishop of Waterford, appointed by the Pope, in a pamphlet styled a Pastoral Letter, published by him in London and Dublin in 1797, not only holds the same doctrine, but forbids all Romanists, under pain of excommunication, to permit any of their children, under any pretence, to resort to a *Protestant* school. In the same pamphlet, he addresses the Romish soldiery, and exhorts them by no means to obey their officers in any orders relating to spiritual concerns, without particularly specifying what he means by *spiritual concerns*, but reserving the interpretation to himself and the Romish priesthood; and stating, that if any officer should enforce obedience to his orders relating to spiritual concerns, such officer might feel the effects of such conduct in the day of battle; that is, the Romish soldier might then turn upon, and assassinate him, or desert to the enemy. *

* It is very proper to remark here, that Dr. Hussey was, within these very few years, sent over to Ireland by the British ministry, under the protection of the English Secretary of State in Ireland; and was made president of a most magnificent college (infinitely more grand, and of more expensive

An English Romish priest of the name of Milner, who, as I understand, is one of the four apostolic vicars in England, in a very *recent* publication, has taken some pains to inform his sovereign, or future sovereigns, how far he or they may be bound by the coronation oath; and states, "that every human law, and every promise or other engagement, however *confirmed by oath*, must necessarily turn upon the cardinal virtue of *prudence*;" which implies, that it depends, as to the obligation of fulfilling it, in such and such circumstances, on the question of *expediency*. I believe the Protestant subjects of this empire have no great occasion to apprehend, that his present Majesty will consult this casuistical Romish divine on cases of conscience.

After this exposure of the present Romish religious principles, so radically hostile to the temporal government and established Constitution of the British empire, in Church and State, of such antiquity, of such indisputable authority, and of such *recent avowal*, let the supporters of the present measure inform us at what period, and by what public authority, did the Romish Church or its votaries renounce or disavow any of these principles. It is notorious they never did; their rejection of the oath of *supremacy*, (simply an *oath of allegiance*, acknowledging the independence of the State,) and their anxiety to have the law enjoining the taking of it repealed, amount to a full confession of the Romanists themselves, that they have not in any shape recanted their old doctrine.

It has now been fully demonstrated, that the principles, political, moral, and religious, contained in the Petition, and

foundation, than any college in his Majesty's dominions), then founded and endowed, for the exclusive education of Romish priests in Ireland, by the Government, and by express directions of the British ministry; that is, for the perpetuation of Popery and disaffection in so great a limb of the British empire! and that Dr. Troy, during the lieutenancy of the Marquis Cornwallis in Ireland, was in great credit at the Irish Court.

stated to be those inculcated by the Roman Catholic religion, are diametrically opposite to the doctrines taught and inculcated by the canons and decrees of general Councils; by all writers, lay and cleric, of the greatest authority amongst the Romanists; and adopted by the universal practice of their Church, from the date of the Council of Lateran to the *present* day: for their *modern* writers (such as Dr. Troy and Mr. Plowden) assert, "that the religious principles of Roman Catholics being *unchangeable*, they are applicable to *all* times; and that if any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that the *modern* Roman Catholics differ, in *one iota*, from their *ancestors*, he either deceives himself, or wishes to deceive others, and that *semper eadem* is emphatically descriptive of their religion."—I come now to answer some objections.

It has been frequently and confidently asserted by Romanists and their abettors, that the doctrines held by them respecting the supreme jurisdiction in *spiritual* matters, and its residence in a foreign tribunal, can never affect the *temporal* authority and jurisdiction in this or in any other country. What has been already advanced is sufficient to refute this assertion; but it is proper to add, that the supreme jurisdiction in *spiritual* matters does draw into its vortex a very large share of *temporal* power, as incorporated with it, even though we exclude a vast portion of *temporal* jurisdiction, claimed by the Romanists, as adhering to the supreme jurisdiction in *spirituals*, which in fact does not belong to it, nor is embodied with it. In proof of this, let the preambles of the several statutes, heretofore enacted in this kingdom, for abolishing the Pope's usurped jurisdiction in *spirituals*, be referred to: they particularise the vast portion of *temporal* authority inseparably annexed to the exercise of supreme jurisdiction in *spirituals*. *

* See the preambles of the acts of the 16th Richard II; 24th Henry VIII. chaps. 12, 25; 25th Henry VIII. chaps. 20, 21; 26th Henry VIII. chap. 1; 32d Henry VIII. chap. 38; Irish acts of 28th Henry VIII. chaps. 13, 19; 2d Elizabeth, chap. 1.

They recite the great mischief done to this empire, "by appeals made to the See of Rome in causes testamentary; causes of matrimony and divorces; right of tithes, oblations, and obventions; by intolerable exactions for bulls, delegacies, and rescripts, in causes of contention; as well as for dispensations, licenses, and faculties, in an infinite number of cases."

Matrimony is held by the Roman Catholics to be a sacrament, and the cognisance of it to belong to the *spiritual* jurisdiction. This, in many cases, would confer a jurisdiction on the Pope, as supreme head of the Church, of deciding whether a man was the lawful heir of his father, and entitled to his real and personal estate; and whether a woman was entitled to dower; with several other *temporal* concomitants. *Excommunication* is a matter of *spiritual* jurisdiction; and the tyranny exercised over the property, and other *temporal* concerns of the laity, by the Romish priesthood in Ireland, is terrible, almost beyond description. *Auricular confession* and *absolution*, by giving them the dominion over the consciences of men, confer a mighty power in *temporal* matters upon them; and Bonaparte, though a fierce unprincipled tyrant and usurper, was so well convinced that the supremacy in *spirituals* would essentially contribute to the support and establishment of his *temporal* power, that he procured himself to be crowned by the Pope as supreme head of the Church, and to be allowed by him to nominate its bishops. In short, all men of learning must know, that the wisest and most sagacious statesmen cannot separate a vast portion of *temporal* influence and authority from the supremacy in *spirituals*. Their adhesion is indissoluble—they must for ever accompany each other: and, let it be well observed, that it has been stated on authority, in the House of Lords, that there is, at this moment, a Consistorial Court at Rome for the express purpose of managing the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland.

It is still, however, urged by those who want to invest Romanists with political power in the British empire, that the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope in *spirituals* is not attended with any ill consequences *at present*, and affords no subject of com-

plaint to the *temporal* power, in any state in Europe, Popish or Protestant; though in all Popish states, and in many Protestant, Romanists are admitted into places of power and trust. The plain answer to this is, that all the Popish states in Europe, previous to the anarchical progress of the recent French revolution, were either despotic monarchies, or equally despotic oligarchies, and that the people at large had no *political* power in them. The despot, or aristocratic rulers, (insignificant in number, when compared with the population of the State,) possessed *the whole political power*; and no person, professing a different religion from that of the State, was permitted to enjoy *any* political power. The great mass of the people, being excluded from all manner of authority or influence in the State, were, what Englishmen term, slaves: and every question which could arise from the claim of *Papal supremacy* in such states, was decided by the despots, and the Court of Rome. As these despots were themselves of the *Romish* persuasion, no controversy could happen between the *temporal* and *spiritual* jurisdictions, on the score of heresy, or difference in religious opinions: the spirituality could never have occasion to put in execution the tyrannical decrees of the Lateran Council against the despots themselves; and these despots actually became the executioners of the judgments of the spirituality, on such of their enslaved subjects as presumed to question any tenet of the Romish superstition; or they permitted the spirituality themselves to execute them. In respect to any other points of *temporal* jurisdiction, claimed by the spirituality, as annexed to the supreme jurisdiction in *spirituals*, it became the interest of the despots partly to acquiesce in them, and thereby to attach the interest of the Clergy to their own domination, well knowing, that superstition can give strong support to despotic power, by inclining the people to submit to slavery; and the *temporal* and *ecclesiastical* powers found it their mutual interest to unite themselves, to ensure and continue the submission of the people.

In *Protestant despotic* states, it is not of great moment to the despot what religious opinions are held by a part of his sub-

jects: *the people have no power* in the state; and it is of little consequence to the despot, whether the men he employs as his servants, are of one religious persuasion or the other, they being merely his creatures, and extinguishable at his pleasure. But in Protestant states, in which the *people*, or their *elective representatives*, have some share in the government, *Romanists* were excluded, before the baneful progress of the French revolution, from all share of political power. The Swiss confederacy, composed of a league of small Protestant and Romish states for their mutual security, is a strong instance of this. In the *Protestant cantons* no *Romanists* were admitted members of the senates, or even to any places of trust or confidence in the state: a similar regulation took place in the *Romish cantons* with respect to *Protestants*. In the United Provinces, so often cited as models of toleration, though all sects were tolerated, yet *civil offices* were only enjoyed by professors of the established religion: "It was not there considered as a punishment on men, to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues and industry."* *Romanists* were also excluded in Holland from seats in the Assembly of the States-General. If, therefore, the British empire is to be influenced by the practice of every popular Protestant State in Europe, *Romanists* should not only be excluded from all places of *trust* and *power*, but from all situations which would invest them with *any* share of *political power*; and, above all, from seats in the supreme legislative assemblies, the Houses of Lords and Commons. But the very Constitution of Britain is such as renders the exclusion of Romanists from seats in the Legislative Assemblies, not only *expedient*, but of *absolute imperative necessity*.

In the British empire, the supreme legislative power rests in the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*; the *Commons* being the representatives of the great mass of the people, or the democracy; the *Peers*, the representatives of the richest and most dignified part of the people, or of the aristocracy. In these two assem-

* Hume's History, vol. viii. page 274.

blies, but particularly in the House of Commons, vastly the most powerful of the two, is vested the greatest and most efficient part of the *sovereign power* of the State: and to admit the *avowed enemies* of the Constitution in Church and State, to form a part of the *sovereignty* of the State, is so manifestly an absurdity in politics, that it is surprising such a measure should be supported by men of ability, professing themselves to be *friends* of the Constitution.

As it has been often openly and confidently asserted, that the exclusion of Romanists from the Houses of Lords and Commons is an unjust invasion of their *natural rights*, it is necessary here to refer the readers to the second section, which expressly treats of the natural rights of mankind. But besides what has been already mentioned, this doctrine may receive the following full and decisive answer. Man, from his very nature, is a *gregarious* animal; there is no instance in nature of savage *solitary* man: *society* is necessary for his preservation and the continuance of the human race; therefore no right can be properly termed a *natural right*, which is not also a *social right*; or, in other words, the rights of *society* are natural rights. If therefore any man, or class of men, claim privileges as *natural rights*, utterly inconsistent with the well-being, and even existence of the society, or political state, of which he is a member, such claim is to be utterly rejected, as not being properly a claim of a natural right; or if of a natural right, in a *solitary* state of nature, (such a state being supposed to exist,) certainly not a claim of right to be admitted by the *society* of which he is a member; because it tends directly to the *destruction* of the society, and all claim of *presumed right* must yield to the paramount claim of *real social right*, the preservation of the State. The basis of the British Constitution is not equal rights to *all men*, but only to those who comply with, and conform to the tests which that Constitution demands for its security. Away then with the claim of *Romanists* to seats in both Houses of Parliament, as their *natural right*!

Romanists cannot derive any support to their exertions,

and those of their abettors, for the repeal of the acts enjoining the taking of the oath of supremacy, from the doctrine, that *opinions*, without *overt acts*, are not the objects of legislation; because the overt acts of our own countrymen, and others, professors of this cruel and unrelenting superstition, for the purpose of subjecting the British empire to a foreign jurisdiction, since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, have been too frequent, flagrant, and notorious, to be denied. Witness the bulls of Pope Pius V. and his successors, for the dethronement and assassination of that queen, and of James I.; the conspiracies of her own Romish subjects, in conformity with these bulls, for her assassination, and that of her successor; the projected Spanish invasion; the gunpowder plot; the desperate Romish rebellion and horrible massacre of the Protestants of Ireland, in the reign of Charles I.; the obstinate and destructive rebellion of the Irish Romanists, in the reign of William III.; the *recent* atrocious rebellions in Ireland, and the unprovoked murder of thousands of Irish Protestants, men, women, and children, in cool blood: in extenuation and excuse of which rebellions and massacres, all the malevolence and falsehood of the whole *republican, jacobinical, Frenchified* faction in England, have been ever since employed; and I am sorry to say, in too many instances, with a pernicious and even a fatal effect.

Yet, notwithstanding the dangerous tendency of Popery, even some Protestants are to be found, who complain of the rigour and impolicy of Parliament, in continuing the restrictions which still remain, though these are the most important. The history of the country clearly shows that the measures adopted by our ancestors, though rigorous and revolting in themselves, were dictated by the soundest policy, and the most absolute necessity. This will appear, if we only take a view of the proceedings under different reigns respecting the Roman Catholics. There is no instance in history of the Protestants and Papists agreeing in Parliament, and conducting business of government and legislation cordially together. Under the reign of Queen Mary, who (per-

haps with good intentions) adopted such sanguinary measures, the *Popish* interests gained the ascendancy, in spite of the efforts of the *Protestants*. The Priests threatened those with excommunication, who would not give their votes in favour of the *Popish* candidates, and by those, and other means, the Queen procured a Parliament, which seconded her endeavours to establish Popery in this country. Under the reign of Elizabeth, the massacre of St. Bartholomew * took place. A conspiracy also was formed in Ireland, which ended in the removal of the Marquis of Ormsby, and left the melancholy proof that many members of Parliament were engaged in promoting the rebellion; and no less than forty-one members were expelled on that account, principally from the House of Lords. In the reign of Charles II. the royal word was given, that no attempt should be made to establish *Popery*; but that word was broken, and the high offices of the State were filled with *Papists*; and when the Duke of York afterwards succeeded, (an avowed Roman Catholic,) matters were carried so far, that the family lost the noblest possession that any family could possibly enjoy. After such experience as this of the temper and spirit of the Roman Catholics, were not our ancestors fully justified, in the precautions which they used to prevent the recurrence of similar scenes? Under the reign of King William, that great friend to the liberties of Europe, as well as of this country, these measures of rigour were first adopted; and in consequence of them, an interval of calm and tranquillity succeeded in Ireland, which had before been almost constantly in a state of agitation, and continued even when rebellion arose in this country.

Hence, I am naturally led to consider, what might be the practical effects of a removal of all these limitations and restrictions, which our ancestors have laid upon Catholics for the security of the Constitution. And, in order to give this part of the subject the greater weight, I shall transcribe the sentiments

* Comber's History of the Parisian Massacre.

of Lord Hawkesbury (now Earl of Liverpool) as delivered in the House of Lords. "These restrictions apply both to the *Dissenters* and the *Catholics*, but to the latter in a much more extensive degree than to the former. It may be material, therefore, in this place, to state what was the cause of this distinction. There are, certainly, some classes of Protestant Dissenters who differ from the Church of England, on matters of doctrine, as widely as the Roman Catholics; there are some who differ even more widely on the subject of hierarchy, and Church-government; but there is this important distinction between Protestant Dissenters of every description and Roman Catholics—the former admit that all ecclesiastical matters may be the subject of internal regulation; they acknowledge no foreign jurisdiction; they pay no foreign allegiance; the Catholics, on the contrary, acknowledge a jurisdiction in a foreign power. I am aware that this jurisdiction is stated to be confined to spiritual and ecclesiastical matters; but it must be obvious to every person who has considered the subject, that it is impossible, in many cases, to separate *civil* from *ecclesiastical* power. In the Catholic religion, above all others, the jurisdiction and authority of the priesthood interfere in a great part of the civil and domestic concerns of life. Let any person reflect how large a proportion of the property and civil rights of individuals must depend on the legality and validity of marriage; yet, on this subject, the opinions and practice of the Catholics differ essentially from those of the Established Church. They consider marriage as a contract to be entered upon, in many cases, under different conditions, and in different circumstances from those which are prescribed by the laws of the country, and, when completed, to be incapable of dissolution, on any account, by any human authority. The power to whom they appeal, on all those subjects, where there is ground for doubt, is a *foreign* power, wholly unconnected with, and, in a greater or less degree, *necessarily* inimical to the State. Can there, then, be any doubt of the importance and solidity of the distinction between the Roman Catholics and all other classes of Christians? Their obedience to a *foreign jurisdiction* forms

an additional feature in their dissent from the Establishment to that of all other Christian denominations, and renders additional guards against them indispensable: but, I say, with respect to all descriptions of Dissenters, would you intrust the patronage of the Church, in its most important branches, to persons who consider your Establishment *heretical or idolatrous*? Are you desirous of seeing the administration of justice in the hands of those whose religious opinions are, in most essential particulars, directly at variance with the law of the land? Would you be satisfied that the office holden by my noble and learned friend on the woolsack, should be conferred on a person of a religion *hostile* to that of the State? Remember, that, if religion does really operate upon the mind of man, it must operate far beyond all human considerations; that no pious man will prefer his *temporal* to his *spiritual* concerns; that if the religion and the State are distinct and at variance, and he is compelled to decide between them, he must decide for his religion, and against the State. It cannot too often be repeated, that the question before us is not whether the Catholics should enjoy *toleration*, or obtain *civil rights* or *civil liberty*; but whether you will grant to them *political power of every description*, at the time when they refuse to acknowledge the *complete authority* of the State. Whenever this question has been discussed in private companies, the only answer I have ever heard made to it, is, that, as long as we had a *Protestant* king, there could be no probability of any of the offices in question being filled by any except *Protestants*. But I ask, where is the security for this? *where* but in the *laws* which it is proposed to *abrogate*? And if this were the case, what is the boon sought for, and why is there any eagerness to attain it? It would be to deceive both Catholics and Dissenters, if we should repeal these laws as a *favour*, and then refuse them the *advantages* which they have sought for and expected in their repeal. If the safety of the State requires a barrier, let that barrier be *the law*, and let us have courage and firmness enough both to avow it, and to maintain it.

"The question relative to the admission of Catholics to Parlia-

ment, stands on this ground, their taking the oath of supremacy. And I appeal to all considerate men, whether, as long as the Catholics refuse to take that oath, it could be safe to admit them into the two Houses of Parliament. I desire it may be considered, what is the purport of the oath of supremacy? It does not call upon individuals even to declare his Majesty *head* of the Church, as he is by law; it calls upon them only to abjure all *foreign dominion* and *jurisdiction*; and as long as the Catholics decline taking this oath, could it be consistent with the security of the State, to consider them as competent members of the legislature of a Protestant and independent country?

"The noble Lord (Grenville) has stated, that he could not see any thing in the present times, which could render it inexpedient to grant the prayer of the Petition. As to this point, I have a very different view of the subject. We have witnessed, my lords, an amazing change in Europe of late. The extreme of democracy has given place (as in the end it naturally must) to the most arbitrary power which was ever erected in any country; and the person possessing that power has judged it prudent to reconcile himself to the Pope, and to the Church of Rome, as a support and assistance to his authority. Whoever considers the extent of the power of France at the present moment—whoever reflects, that almost all Catholic Europe is in subjection to France—whoever contemplates the absolute dependence of the Pope on the will of France, and, (what never happened in any former period,) that there is at present no counterbalance whatever at Rome to the influence of that power—whoever gives due weight to the considerations arising out of the nature of the connection subsisting between the Catholics of Ireland and the Pope, and will attend to the circumstance, that the Catholic Church of Ireland is under the control and superintendence of a college of Cardinals at Rome, must be convinced, that there never was a moment more unfavourable for augmenting their *political power*. On every sound principle of reasoning, this could not be considered as a proper time for agitating the Roman Catholic claims. Those

who do not agree with me in objecting to the measure on *principle*, should nevertheless wait for the result of the contest in which we are engaged—they should feel that this was the time, of all others, when it would be peculiarly hazardous to part with any share of that power, which, once parted with, it might never be possible to resume, and which, if abused, it might be beyond our own power to remedy.

“Let us not then consent, by any rash act, to endanger that ancient monument of wisdom and piety, which has braved so many storms and assaults. The present is a most critical period. At home, we are suffering under the most heavy burdens—abroad, we are assailed by a very powerful enemy. Such is not the moment for taking a step of at least a doubtful tendency. We ought to be in a more tranquil and secure condition, before we make such an experiment on the Constitution as that now proposed. We should beware of tampering with the state crucible, and of mixing up ingredients, like subtle alchemists, which might eventually explode, to the direct and manifest injury, if not destruction, of the State.

“But the noble Baron says, that the influence of the Pope over the priesthood can be no objection to the grant he pleads for. He asks, ‘Do we think the Pope is more hostile to us *now*, than in those times in which we were at war with the Bourbon family?’ I certainly do not think he is. On the contrary, he cannot but wish well to any nation that opposes Gallic tyranny. But I think, nay I am certain, that the Pope is the miserable puppet of the usurper of the throne of the Bourbons; that he dare not move but by Napoleon’s command, and should he order him to influence the Irish priests to rouse their flocks to rebellion, he could not refuse to obey the despot. I ground this opinion upon his Holiness being forced to anoint the usurper of the throne of the eldest sons of the Church, from whose family she had derived most of her possessions. I ground this opinion upon the unfortunate old man being obliged to call upon the very respectable French bishops in this country, who had left all for conscience sake, to forget

the solemn oaths they had sworn to the princes of the Bourbon race, and to take others to support tyranny and usurpation.

“Again, the noble Lord says, ‘That the rebellion of 1798 was not a *Catholic* rebellion, and therefore no impediment to the concession demanded.’ I have not heard any one state that rebellion to have been a Catholic rebellion; many of its leaders were *Protestants*, or professed to be so. The present General of Division, in the service of his imperial and royal majesty the Emperor of France, and king of Italy, was ordained a deacon of the Established Church of Ireland, by the father of the individual who has now the honour to address you. Others, like Emmett, were professed Protestants, but were real disciples of the modern French school, both in religion and in politics. I had the honour to be one of the secret Committee of the House of Lords in Ireland, before which those gentlemen made their confessions of treason. When asked, whether the establishment of the Catholic religion was one of their principal objects, they smiled, and said, that such an idea never once entered into their heads; that they certainly made use of the pretext of the Catholic religion, and of fanatical priests, as the best fire-brands to throw among the people to rouse them to rebellion; that their objects were the establishment of a republic, independent of Great Britain, and connected with, but not dependant upon France. A great proportion of the people in three of the provinces being Catholics, of course the rebel ranks were filled with men of that persuasion.

“The noble Lord, also, is wrong in stating, that ‘where the rebel armies were strongest, it was in counties altogether Catholic.’ The county of Wexford possessed great numbers of Protestants, yet it was there the rebel troops were in the greatest force; it was there the greatest enormities were committed; it was there I witnessed Catholic priests bearing in their hands the sacred banner of the Cross, the emblem of the mildest of religions; it was there I saw them lead the infuriated rabble to pillage, to destruction of property, and to the mur-

der of the aged, the infirm, women, children, in short, what was most distinguished, what was lowest in the community. I will not shock your lordships' ears by the disgusting recital. But the noble lord says it arose out of the unhappy circumstances of the country. I profess I do not understand what the noble lord means; but if he wishes to convey the idea that the rebellion was produced by any oppression of the people, I must beg leave, with great respect to him, positively to deny it.

"I go on now to the consideration of the practical advantages which would be likely to arise from the proposed measures; and I cannot but feel, that we are called upon to *sacrifice our laws*, for a benefit to a *few individuals*, but which would be likely to afford no advantage whatever to the *great mass* of the Catholic population of Ireland. Every thing in that country has already been conceded to the Catholics, which can interest the great body of the people. They enjoy the right of admission into all offices, civil and military; the right of franchise in their respective counties; and, in short, every right and privilege enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, with the exception of about thirty-eight of the first offices of State, and the admission into the two Houses of Parliament. Can we, then, really believe that they feel much anxiety on the subject of what remains to be given? I am fortunately in possession of the sentiments of some important authorities on this part of the subject. In the year 1798, several of the persons who were under the accusation of high treason, were examined before a Committee of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Ireland, and were permitted to banish themselves at the time of the peace, on condition of making a full disclosure of all the circumstances within their knowledge relative to the rebellion. I shall not allude to the evidence of that person, who, but a few weeks before, had been described to be *the most virtuous and enlightened of patriots*, but who proved himself on that occasion, by his own confession, to be *the greatest of traitors*;—I mean Mr. Arthur O'Connor. I am desirous of referring you to the evidence of persons, both in talents and perseverance, very much his superiors. The first is Dr. McNevin, a physician and

a Catholic; the second, Thomas Addis Emmett, a professed Protestant, and a lawyer. My Lords, the following questions were proposed to Dr. McNevin by the secret committee of the Irish House of Lords:

Q. Was any ecclesiastical establishment intended by the new government?—A. No: I conceive that a revolution would of course involve the demolition of the Church Establishment, and of course a relief of the poor from tithes.

Q. Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?—A. *I am sure they do not*: but they wish much to be relieved from the payment of tithes.

"To Mr. Emmett, the questions, though not so pointedly expressed, were of a similar nature, and the answers are not less deserving attention.

Q. Do you think the mass of the people care for Catholic Emancipation, or Parliamentary Reform?—A. *I believe the mass of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation*; neither did they care for *Parliamentary Reform*, till it was explained to them as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tithes. They were also taught to consider that, when they became members of a democracy, their condition would be bettered.

Q. Was any ecclesiastical establishment intended by the revolutionary government?—A. None, certainly.

"Why then I have a right to infer, as well from these authorities, as from the presumption of the thing itself, that, circumstanced as the great body of the Catholics is at this time, they would not consider what you are called upon to grant, as any desirable boon, or material concession to them, any farther than as it would be a prelude to the accomplishment of *future* advantages, infinitely greater.

"The noble Baron has declared, that, in acceding to his propositions, we should part with but *little*, and grant much. I say the reverse is the true statement. They have *little* indeed to receive, compared with the *MUCH* which we are called upon

to *give*. They are to *receive* access to a few official situations in the State, and a power of sitting in Parliament. We are to *give up* that, on which the vital liberties of our country rest; that, which gives *energy* to our *armies*, and *superiority* to our *navies*; that, which supports us whole and unimpaired, amidst the crash of surrounding nations, and maintains us, in the proud preeminence which so happily and honourably distinguishes the British name,—the glorious Constitution of our country. *Little* for us to give! do you say? Call you the surrender of the bill of rights, *little*? A demolition of our Church Establishment, *little*? The Protestant succession, *little*? *What more* have you to give, or what will remain to you worth preserving? I believe that what remains to be granted is *all*, because, if granted, it *might* make the Catholics the State. I am ready to give them every thing *under* the State, but I am not prepared, and I trust, your Lordships neither are, nor ever will be, prepared, to surrender the State itself into their hands.

"I have heard it said, Since you have *given so much*, why not relinquish *the remainder*? I answer, you have hitherto only give them that, which, however beneficial it may be to *them*, is little taken from *you*, whilst you resolve to keep what remains. Recollect, that you still hold in your hands the *great offices of State, and the two Houses of Parliament*, and that therein are vested the power, jurisdiction, and sovereignty of the empire. Be firm, then, in your present situation, and your Establishments are safe: but every additional step you take, may lead to the vital prejudice of the country.

"I would now ask, whether, if this measure were conceded, we really believe the Roman Catholics would be satisfied, and whether we have any ground of confidence from past experience, that nothing further would be demanded, which it might be indispensable to refuse, and yet which must be refused, (if you yield now to their demands,) with considerable difficulty and disadvantage? In the Petition on your table the Catholics plainly tell you, that "the tests which are now exacted from them are *painful to their feelings*;" and if all the remaining restrictions were repealed, I should not be surprised if they

demand a repeal of the very *tests*, on the condition of taking which they have been hitherto relieved. But is this all? Let me appeal to the history of Ireland within the last few years.—In the year 1793, the Catholics presented a Petition, in which they professed *specifically* to state *all* their grievances. Some opposition was made to the prayer of this Petition by persons of great weight and respectability in Ireland; but, in the end, *ALL* that they prayed for was granted, nay, more.

No doubt but it was then contended, that, by conferring so much upon them, they would be bound in gratitude to the Government for ever. Their loyalty and affection would be secured, by giving as a boon more than it had occurred to them to ask, and that then they would rest contented. But was this the case? They presented, indeed, an address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, in which they professed their gratitude for what had been acceded to them, but stated, at the same time, that *they considered it as a first step only to further favours*, and expressed a hope that it would be followed by *additional* concessions. As to the mass of the people, they were relieved from every restriction which affected them. The profession of the law was opened, the magistracy, right of voting, freedom of corporations, trades, &c. What happened immediately? *Universal insurrection, devastation, and cruelty*. May I not then reasonably ask, if it is probable that those who returned treason for kindness, and murder for favour, upon points which *directly* affected them, are likely to become *mild* and *grateful* subjects for favours which affect them only *distantly* and *collaterally*? Such was the effect of your *last* concessions. Is it not important, therefore, to know, by what the present concessions, if granted, may be followed? Are there no questions behind *this*, which may be brought forward hereafter? Attend to the evidence of Dr. Mc'Nevin, and Mr. Emmett. Do they not tell you, that, little as the Irish people feel interested in the present question, they feel a strong interest in *the abolition of tithes*? It has been a doctrine advanced, within these few years, by several persons *dissenting* from the Church Establish-

ment, that no person ought to be bound to pay to the Church of which he is not a member. This doctrine was adopted by many of the *chiefs* of the Irish rebellion: and I would ask the House, whether the argument of some in favour of the concessions now proposed, in consequence of *the Catholics being so great a majority of the people*, might not be afterwards applied, with at least equal plausibility, to the question of *their contributing to your Church Establishment?*—What would be the consequence? Why; that, in making this concession, you would only change the ground of the contest; and, instead of contending with them on a question on which the great mass of the population cannot have, and, in point of fact, have not, any material interest whatever, you would have to contend with them upon a point, on which all the passions, the prejudices, and the interests of the people would be naturally and easily embarked against you.

“ Believe me, the laws you are desired to repeal, are the outworks of your Church Establishment. As long as they are *preserved*, the Establishment itself cannot and will not be assailed. Struggle, therefore, for them, to the last; and remember that if you are there *defeated*, the contest is not at an end; you will only change the scene of action, and have to resist the enemy, in a situation where *his* power of attack will be *more formidable*, and *your* means of defence *MUCH LESS* powerful.

“ The expectation that *concessions*, as such, should lead to *peace*, is unfortunately contrary to the experience we have had in the history of Ireland. No man can lament, more than I do, the greater part of the penal code which was enacted against the Catholics in the reign of Queen Anne; but there is one singular circumstance attendant upon the enactment of that code, and which deserves peculiar attention.—Though Ireland, from its first conquest to that period, had, with very small interruptions, been the theatre of rebellion and insurrection, yet, from the time of the adoption of that code to the period of its repeal, during a long series of years, (notwithstanding there was a new family upon the throne, possessing a disputed title to the

crown; notwithstanding *two formidable rebellions* in Great Britain,) Ireland remained in a state of *repose and tranquillity*—it was not till after the policy of *concession* had been adopted, that *disaffection, insurrection*, and, ultimately, *rebellion*, made again their appearance in that country. Concession also seems to have been too often made to *clamour*, for the purpose of averting the danger of the moment. *Such* concession led naturally to *new demands*; *such* demands have, on some occasions, been precipitately complied with; and the consequence has been, that *discontent* has been fostered and encouraged, and some inconsistencies have been introduced into the laws of that country, which it is impossible not to regret. Viewing the subject in this light, I believe that the tranquillity of Ireland would have been better consulted, if, instead of the *temporary* expedients just described, a mature and steady view had been taken of the whole of its condition; if it had been deliberately inquired, what concessions might have been *made* without much hazard, and what ought to have been *for ever refused*: this being ascertained, it would have been the part of a liberal and enlightened policy to grant whatever the safety of the State would have permitted; and there would have been this convenience in such a proceeding, the *deliberation* with which the concessions would have been made, would have sanctioned the concessions themselves. At the same time, it would have been a *bar to further demands*, and we should have been equally tranquil and equally safe in what we *refused*, and what we *granted*. My Lords, I have been at all times friendly to a mild and conciliatory exercise of the laws in Ireland: but whilst I state this to have been my opinion and practice, I must be allowed to say, that I have formed a very erroneous judgment of the character of the people of Ireland, if I have not learned that *that* policy, which, in my judgment, is most compatible with mild laws, namely, a *steady system of government*, is the best chance you can have for the internal peace and tranquillity of that country.

“ The maxims which I have adduced in support of our

established laws, are neither new in themselves, nor confined to the country in which we have the blessing of being born; they are the maxims and principles which have been hitherto adopted by every free community of Europe, as well in ancient as in modern times. It has been, till within these few years, a principle uniformly recognised, that the State and the established religion of a country must be connected; and that those who possess political power in the former, owe a certain degree of obedience and homage to the latter.

"If I look to the ancients, I find that, in the republic of Athens, no citizen could take a share in the civil administration, or enter upon any public office, before he had taken an oath that he would defend and protect his country, and its religion, and that he would conform to the *national worship*.

"In the republic of Rome, the great civil and military officers could only be appointed through the concurrent sanction of the *established* rights; without the due performance of these, the appointments were not good, the parties were said to be *vitio creati*, and they lost their situations.

"If I look to modern times, I find that, in the republic of Holland, the principal offices of the State could only be holden by those who professed the *established religion* of the country. In the Government of Poland, (a limited monarchy in principle, however vitious it might be in practice,) the same maxim was entertained and acted upon. Similar principles will be found to have pervaded almost all the free governments of Europe: and I know not how I can better sum up what was understood to be the *system and practice of Europe* in this respect, than in the words of our glorious deliverer, King William; who, when applied to by King James, on the subject of indulgence to the Catholics, made, through Mr. Fagel, the following answer:

"Their highnesses ever had a profound submission to his Majesty, &c. &c.: but since the matter that was then in hand, related not to the making of new laws, but to the total abrogation of those already made both by King and Parliament, their highnesses did not see how it could be expected

of them, that they should consent to such an abrogation, to which they had so just an aversion; *as being a thing so contrary to all the laws and customs of all Christian States, whether Protestants or Papists, who admitted none to a share in the Government or public employments, but those who professed the public and established religion*, and endeavoured to secure it against all attempts whatsoever."

"There are, I know, two most important exceptions, in recent times, to this policy: the first is to be found in the conduct of the national assembly of France, who proclaimed the equality of all religions; which was only a prelude to the destruction of every description of religion in that country. The second exception to this principle, is the system of the United States of America. I desire that any person, who is disposed to hold out this system as a subject for imitation, would inform himself of the situation of that country; I desire that he would read the accounts of the different persons who have visited it within these few years. What will he learn from these accounts? Why, that one of the circumstances which attracts the attention of every stranger who passes through this country, is the apparent indifference, in many parts of it, to *all religion*,—that the public worship appears to be neglected, the Churches are suffered to be in ruin. Can such a state of things exist, and have no effect on the morals, temper, and dispositions of a people? Should, then, America, in this respect, be an example even for a *new community*? But can she be an example to a country like *Great Britain*, whose pride and glory it has been, whose pride and glory, I trust, it ever will be, to exist under a different system, and to have been fostered and supported under different principles?

"Doubtless, there are some *good and virtuous* men, who believe that the indulgence claimed by the Catholics should be granted; but it is certain, also, that some of the most active friends to the proposed measure, have no small degree of *insensibility*, on the subject of religion. If religion be necessary for the happiness of mankind, *States* must be *in earnest* about it, as well as *individuals*. The people of every country

will look, and have a right to look, to *what* their civil governors *think*, and *how* their civil governors *act*. If *they* are *zealous*, if *they* are *united*, it will have a considerable effect in producing the same qualities in the community over which they are placed; if *they* are *lukewarm*, if *they* are *divided*, what can be expected from *the people*?

“ I have already stated, that I was ready to admit that no laws could be *perpetual*; but there are certain laws, so incorporated with the very existence of a State, that to attempt materially to affect them, may be replete with the greatest perils. I consider the connexion which has subsisted between the Church Establishment and the Constitution of this country to be of that nature. Let us remember that, if the Church owes its existence to the protection of the State, the Constitution owes not less its existence to the support it has occasionally met with from the Church. In the reign of Charles the First, the party who meditated and ultimately accomplished the ruin of the *monarchy*, meditated at the same time, and equally accomplished, the ruin of the *Church Establishment*: they fell together, and, at the Restoration, they rose again together. In the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second, when the tide ran high in favour of monarchy, the only resistance which was made to that prince for some years, was made by the *Church* party: and to their opposition at that time, we were indebted for the preservation of any part of our political liberties. I come then to the Revolution: and let me ask any person acquainted with the history of that period, whether *the zeal of the Whigs for liberty* could have effected it, if they had not been aided, seconded, and abetted by *the zeal of the Tories for the Established Church*?

“ I call not therefore upon any one of the great parties into which this country has been divided,—I call upon them all, for support this night: I call upon the *Whigs*, who have ever gloried in the lead which they took in the revolution of 1688, who have ever considered themselves as the principal promoters of the *Bill of Rights* and *Act of Settlement*—I call upon them to support the system of King William, and the laws enacted

under his auspices,—I call upon the *Tories*, the firm, steady, and persevering supporters of *the Monarchy* and *the Established Church*—I call upon them to maintain those laws which are the bulwarks of the Establishments. Instead of *repealing*, I implore you to *support* the laws under which you have lived and prospered, to cling to that policy which, in my conscience I believe, has made you what you are, and under which you have enjoyed liberty, toleration, wealth, tranquillity, beyond what ever was enjoyed by any country on the face of the earth. Avoid *rash innovations*, shun *new experiments*. The future destiny of our country is not in our own hands; kingdoms may rise and fall, flourish or decay; but let us not be ourselves the instruments of that blow which may occasion our destruction. Let us not despise the wisdom of our ancestors, nor forget the dangers which they have averted! Let us reflect that all *past experience* and *all authority* is in favour of our *laws*, and that it is only by a *steady adherence* to that system, which we have received from our forefathers, and a firm determination to transmit it to our descendants, that we can hope to exist with credit, or to fall (if we must fall) with honour. Impressed with these considerations; fully convinced that any proposition leading to the repeal of those laws which are the foundation of all our happiness, security, and prosperity; and satisfied that the best interests of the country would be exposed to the most serious danger, I heartily deprecate the experiment, and trust that it will never be tried.”

In similar strains of eloquence, and powerful reasoning, a noble Earl thus concluded his speech. “ In this view of the question, shall I, my Lords, comply with the prayer of the Petition? I trust not—the experiment is too desperate to be hazarded. The principles established at the Revolution are the landmarks by which I advise you to guide your conduct. The blessings we have enjoyed, by the operation of those principles, have not been equalled by the people of any country that have ever existed. The British Constitution has stood firm, amidst those storms by which Europe has been convulsed during the critical times in which it has been your Lordships’

destiny to live. The interests of the *Church* are so interwoven with those of the *State*, that the one cannot be shaken, without endangering the other. No *substantial* reason for the proposed innovation has been adduced, whilst much cause for remaining as we are, is felt by every man. The people of England look to the decisions of your Lordships with an anxious expectation, and I trust they will not be disappointed. Feeling as I do, that the prayer of the Petition might be fatal to the title of the House of Brunswick, to the throne of the United Kingdom, I would not place the noble Lord upon the *woolsack* in the distressing predicament of presenting a bill to his Majesty for his assent, which, exclusive of other important considerations, was calculated to destroy the permanent interests of his family: I will therefore be no party to such a proposition."

Though the preceding arguments are very forcible, yet it may not be amiss to corroborate them by the speeches of other distinguished personages: for, "in a multitude of counsellors there is safety." I shall, therefore, begin with part of the Bishop of St. Asaph's oration. "I think, my Lords, that the Roman Catholics are as well entitled to every thing which can be properly called *toleration*, and to every indulgence which can be extended to them, with safety to the principles of our Constitution, as many of those who do us the honour to call themselves our *Protestant brethren*! But my mind is so unfashionably constructed that it cannot quit hold of the distinction between *toleration* and admission to *political power* and *authority* in the State.* The object of *toleration* is conscientious scruples. I conceive that the Roman Catholics already enjoy a *perfect toleration*, in this respect. The statutes, which exclude them from offices of *high trust* and *authority* in the State, are not *penal*. Such exclusions are not *penalties*, and the relaxation of those statutes would not be *toleration*: it would be an indulgence of a very different kind. And although I wish the Roman Catholics should enjoy toleration in its full

* See also Bishop Porteus's Reasons against Emancipating the Catholics. Price 1s. J. J. Stockdale.

extent, that they should be subject to no penalties for any religious opinions which may be peculiar to them, to no restraint in the use of their own forms of worship among themselves; yet I could not, without anxiety and apprehension, see a Roman Catholic upon that *woolsack*, where my noble and learned friend now sits, or on the *bench of justice*, so worthily occupied by a noble and learned lord at my right hand. My Lords, this Petition goes this length. It prays, that a Roman Catholic may be invested with the capacity of being any thing in the State, but *King*. Now, if there would be no danger to the Constitution, to admit a Roman Catholic to be any thing but King, if this would be a safe thing to do, I confess it is beyond the powers of my mind to imagine upon what principle the *Act of Settlement* can be defended.

"My Lords, my mind is not yet brought to that modern liberality of sentiment, which holds it to be a matter of indifference to the State, of what religion the persons may be, who fill its highest offices. I hold, that there is danger to the State, when persons are admitted to high offices, who are not of the religion of the State, be it what it may. And I am ready to argue this very fairly; I think in my conscience, that I myself, being a *Protestant*, should have been a very unfit person to have held any *high office* under the old *French* government. My Lords, the noble Secretary of State, in the former night's debate, argued this point of the inexpediency of admitting persons differing in religious persuasion from the State; he argued it from the practice of antiquity; and he argued justly. It certainly was the policy of all the States of antiquity, to require that persons in office in the State, should be of the *established religion* of the country. I shall argue from the sad experience, which modern times afford, of the mischief of giving way to the contrary principle. Having said that I will argue from modern times, I may seem to be going somewhat back, if I mention the *French Hugonots*. But they are an instance in point. I will say, that the *Hugonots* were very bad subjects of *Roman Catholic France*. They became bad subjects, in consequence of the extravagant indulgences, which, for a long

series of years, they were permitted to enjoy. They became at last so bad, that the French government was provoked to retract those indulgences; and the cruel persecution took place, which drove them from their country. The persecution was cruel, but it was the natural effect of *impolitic indulgence*; and such *indulgence* may always be expected to terminate in such *cruelty*. But, I rely chiefly on the events of much later times;—of *our own times*. I ask, what was the real beginning and radical cause of that dreadful convulsion, which, at this moment, shakes all Europe? What was the real beginning and first cause of the subversion of the ancient French government, and of the overthrow of the venerable Gallican Church? Many are inclined to believe, it was the placing of Neckar, that *Protestant republican*, at the head of the councils of *monarchical Roman Catholic France*?

“Now, my Lords, if there be some danger in admitting a *Protestant* (especially one of Republican principles) to any high part in a *Roman Catholic* government, the danger certainly must be much greater of admitting a *Roman Catholic* to any high part in a *Protestant* government. And for this reason; that the *Roman Catholic* pledges his obedience, within a certain limit at least, to a foreign power, which is not the case of the *Protestant*. I say, within a certain limit. For I am aware of the distinction, between the *spiritual supremacy* of the Pope, which is all the Roman Catholics acknowledge, and his authority in *civil* matters, which they renounce. But, there is such a connection between authority in *spiritual* matters and in *civil*, that I apprehend some degree of *civil* authority may indirectly arise out of the *spiritual* supremacy; insomuch that the conscientious Roman Catholic may sometimes find himself hampered between his acknowledgment and his renunciation.”

The next striking remarks upon this subject were delivered by some nobleman, whose name I have not discovered.

“Before we proceed to grant more, (if more we could grant without a direct surrender of all securities of our Protestant Church and Government,) it would well become us to consider how our past liberality and confidence have been requited.

But we cannot grant more, particularly the boon which is asked of the admission of Catholic members into Parliament, without putting in peril the whole Protestant Church, and its rights, as by law established.

“*The Act of Settlement* has provided for the Protestant succession to the crown of England; it has made the being a Protestant the indispensable condition upon which the crown is to be worn, by any prince claiming under the limitation in favour of the heirs of the body of Princess Sophia, “*being Protestants*.”

“It has not only required the King to be a Protestant generally, but to be of that class of Protestants which joins in *communion with the Church of England*; and it has excluded Papists by industrious description: for it provides and enacts (section 2) that all and every person and persons who shall or may take or inherit the said crown, by virtue of the limitation of the present act, and is or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be subject to such incapacities, as in such case or cases are by the recited act (*i.e.* of 1 W. and M.) enacted and established.

“So peremptory is the tenor of these provisions in exclusion of a Popish prince from the throne of these kingdoms, that if (a case which is scarce within the extreme limits of actual possibility) his Majesty himself should become reconciled to the See of Rome, or profess the Popish religion, the crown would, in that case, by the instantaneous effect and operation of law, fall from his august and revered brows, and he would stand amongst us a mere unprivileged individual, as wholly divested of the rights, functions, name and character of sovereignty, as the meanest peasant of the land. Can it then be supposed, that when such industrious pains have been taken by our ancestors, to secure to the kingdom a Protestant prince, that it should be left at large whether his Parliament should be Protestant or Papist? But this was already provided for by the test acts in the reign of Charles II. which shut the doors of Parliament in both Houses, on persons who do not take *the oaths of*

allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against Popery.

"These restrictions on the parliamentary function and character it is now proposed to repeal; and thus the King may be surrounded, not only by ministers of opposite and conflicting religions, but may find, in the same persons, a divided and distracted allegiance between *his* rights, as their *temporal sovereign*, and the rights spiritual and ecclesiastical of the Roman pontiff.

"It is obvious to the most careless observer, that the measures of Government would be enormously clogged and impeded by the close junction and mutual adherence of the Catholic members, amounting, in the aggregate, to a number in England and Ireland, sufficiently large to enforce from a minister, a degree of condescension and deference to their demands, in favour of the Roman Catholic religion, by which the Protestant religion might be undermined and endangered.

"But if Roman Catholic members are to have seats in Parliament, there must be also vested in them a capacity of becoming, as well as others, the King's ministers; and if his ministers are to be taken out of the body of Catholics, of what avail will it be, that we have secured to us, by the act of settlement and the coronation oath, the solitary individual *Protestantism* of his Majesty? So that, at the last, the whole substance of the provision, made with so much anxiety and solemnity by our Protestant ancestors, will become entirely futile and elusory; for the test acts which preceded the act of settlement, and were the foundation on which alone it could practically rest, must of course be done away, before the Catholic members can take their seats in either House; the removal of which tests will certainly, on principle, and by probable, if not necessary influence, in point of fact, effectuate a total subversion of the Protestant Church as established by law within these realms. It will scarce be denied by any of those, upon the credit of whose assertions your lordships would be disposed to place reliance, that the real aim and object of the persons who so strenuously contend for con-

ferring a representative capacity on Roman Catholics, is, through the means of such representatives, to procure for the body at large some further advantages in the way of a recognized Church Establishment, under the immediate authority of Parliament. Upon this head, waving, for the present, all objections whatever to the religious faith and doctrines of that Church, and supposing, (which I by no means admit,) that the points of faith and doctrine in which *our* Church differs from *theirs*, are of less essential practical importance as affecting moral conduct than they appear to me to be; allowing them to entertain, and as publicly as they please to profess a belief in transubstantiation and in purgatory, to practise the invocation of saints, and to hold and inculcate the belief of (what Protestants consider as) a legendary chronicle of authentic * miracles; giving them all facilities of public and private worship, and profession of faith on these and every other subject, if there be any yet wanting and required on their behalf; still an establishment for their Church, concurrent with that of the United Church of England and Ireland, exceeds even the competence of Parliament itself, constituted as it is, to bestow. By the 5th article of the Union, it is declared, that "the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the *Established Church of England and Ireland*, shall be deemed and taken to be an *essential and fundamental part of the Union*." By *fundamental* is meant, with reference to the subject matter, such an integral part of the compact of union formed between the two kingdoms, as is absolutely necessary to the support and sustaining of the whole fabric and superstructure of the Union raised and built thereupon: and such as, being removed, would produce the ruin and overthrow of the political Union founded upon this article as its immediate basis. The words "the Established Church" import that there shall be only one Church of that description, and which shall alone have the privileges, character, and denomination of

* See some of these in the Appendix to Stockdale's History of the Inquisitions, 1810.

an Established Church annexed to it. These terms necessarily exclude any other co-ordinate and concurrent establishment; every other Church which has any thing beyond what we commonly understand by the word *toleration* allowed to it, may be considered as so far established within the meaning of this article; and the Union, of course, in virtue of such allowed establishment, not only to a degree impugned and violated, but by the express letter of the precise and peremptory provision referred to, absolutely deprived of its very essence and foundation; in other words, substantially destroyed and subverted. I will hope, therefore, that on further consideration the utter impracticability of such a project, consistently with the good faith of the two kingdoms solemnly pledged to each other at the period, and by the compact, of the Union, will be so apparent to all who are at present striving for its adoption, as to dissuade them from the further prosecution of a measure which, as it must commence in a violation of public faith and political rights, must also terminate in disappointment and dishonour.

“ I am one of those, my Lords, who labour under an unfortunate persuasion that even if this could legally be, and in fact were granted to them; that if the Roman Catholic religion were already established in Ireland, in some degree of communion and participation of privileges with the United Church, even this grant and indulgence, large as it might now appear to us, would be followed by fresh demands and increased importunity. What assurance is there that they would rest contented with this boon? or would not the broad banners of Papal Supremacy be immediately unfurled, and the exclusive domination of the Romish Church in Ireland be authoritatively claimed on the ground of this very concession, and of that majority in the population of that country, which alone confers the right (as they contend) of establishing the Protestant religion as the religion of the State in this country? Compared with the value of this ultimate prize, the objects hitherto obtained in the struggle, would be vile and worthless in their estimation.

Jam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit
Actum inquit nihil est, nisi pæno milite portas
Frangimus et mediâ vexillum pono suburra.

“ Before it is yet too late, I for one am disposed to rally round the standards, and to preserve the altars, of my country. The palladium of our Protestant, and indeed of our political security, consists principally in the oath of supremacy, and the tests connected therewith, and (as more particularly concerns Ireland) in the provisions contained in the 5th article of our recent Union with that country, against every attempt to weaken these safeguards of the Constitution. I, as long as I live, and am furnished with faculties either of body or mind, enabling me to struggle with effect, will manfully struggle, and, as far in me lies, will avert the mischief which must result from the admission of persons (owning and yielding, as they do, an *imperfect* and *defalcated* allegiance to the State,) into the entire and perfect rights of completely affiliated subjects.

“ Not being able, my Lords, to feel any material degree of evil in the present state of political restraint, as it is necessarily for *their* good as well as *ours*, and in the prevention of common calamities affecting us all, applied to our Roman Catholic brethren in Ireland; and seeing a sure prospect of enormous and incalculable mischiefs before me, which must immediately result from a change:—as a *subject*, interested in the safety of the crown and kingdom; as a *Protestant*, interested in maintaining the possession of that pure and reformed religion, which (having been in times past preserved and sanctified to us by the blood of our ancestors) has been, by God's providence, long and firmly established in these realms, and which is inseparably knit together in one system with all our civil rights and liberties, with our best means of happiness here, and our best hopes of happiness hereafter; I feel it my duty, my Lords, *now and for ever*, as long as the Catholic religion shall maintain its ecclesiastical and spiritual union with, and dependence upon the See of Rome, to resist, to the utmost of my power, this and every other proposition

which is calculated to produce the undoing and overthrow of all that our fathers have regarded, and ourselves have felt and know to be most venerable and useful in our Establishments, both in Church and State."

And now I beg leave, particularly, to draw the attention of those who are well affected to the present royal family, to the animated and judicious observations of the Duke of Cumberland.—"After the very able manner in which the Secretary of State has explained to this House, reasons which, I trust, will induce you to reject the claims of the Catholics, it will not be necessary for me to enter diffusely into this question. But when I reflect on what the circumstances were which brought our family to the throne, and when I consider what is the object of that Petition on your table, it is impossible for me to remain totally silent. With respect to the circumstances which brought our family to the British throne, your lordships well know that they originated in the Revolution. The great object of that Revolution was to secure the religion and liberties of these realms. These objects were confirmed by the *Act of Settlement*, by the *Declaration of Rights*, by the *Oath of Supremacy* and *Abjuration*, and by the *succession to the Crown in the Protestant line*. To maintain and uphold all these, our family was called to the throne. And whatever can militate with these principles, in the remotest degree, it is my bounden duty, as a member of that family, and as a member of your Lordships' House, to resist. For this purpose, I must ask, What is the object of that Petition? It is to enable the Catholics to hold offices of trust and power in the State. Was it not to oppose such a system that the Revolution originated? Was it not the very life and soul of that memorable transaction to secure the rights of Church and State? Are we then, my Lords, going to undo all the Revolution has done? Bear in mind, my Lords, the scenes which preceded the Revolution; they are strong proofs that the participation of equal power by Catholics and Protestants, is a thing incompatible with the principles of both. Are you not already convinced, by facts and history, that it is impossible

for Protestants and Catholics to agree in the administration of political power? What then will follow if the Catholics be admitted to the great offices of trust? You will soon *see* what;—thank God, till now we have only read: we shall experience the same confusion and bloodshed which stained all the reigns from Mary, who began with granting them a dispensing power to hold offices of State, down to James, who ended with the dispensing power in their favour. He hurled himself from the throne by conferring on them offices of trust and power, which afterwards drew down on them all the weight of penal laws: I am justified, therefore, in concluding, that there can be no boon more fraught with mischief to King and subjects, conferred, than that prayed for in this Petition. Not only, however, the awful experience of past times, but the temper of the present times call upon us to pause, and to listen to the voice of the two great capitals of the empire, and of different counties in the United Kingdom against this Petition. We know, my Lords, what are the feelings and sentiments of this nation with respect to the causes and consequences of the Revolution. The memory of it is kept alive daily by the most solemn acts when men are called to undertake public and corporate functions. His Majesty's subjects on such occasions swear to preserve his supremacy in ecclesiastical and civil matters. Does that Petition acknowledge that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters? No! If then you surrender the power of the State to those who *deny* that supremacy, you do not *maintain* that supremacy, you virtually *surrender* it. Far be it from me, my Lords, to shackle or to fetter the consciences of any men: but equally far be it from me, to pull down, by rash innovation, any of the venerable pillars of the Constitution. All that can be given, consistently with reason and conscience, I am prompt to give. But the Constitution I cannot, *dare not*, *WILL NOT* give. I must uphold and support, with the last effort of my nature, the Establishment in Church and State, as the great step by which the House of Brunswick ascended that throne."

From the foregoing reasoning of several high characters in

the Senate, it must be manifest, that *innovations* in a State (which has been formed by wise and sound policy, and which long experience has taught us to approve) are always dangerous. If, therefore, any *unusual liberty* be demanded, upon which former restraints were thought necessary, it should always be extended with that degree of jealousy and circumspection, which may enable us to guard against the abuse of it, and which may prevent its being made the instrument to destroy the very Government, for whose protection and support it was alone created.

I am ready to admit, that no laws can be considered as perpetual, and that there must exist, in every state, a power somewhere, to revise, to modify, and even to abrogate the laws of the state, according as circumstances may render it necessary: but it has been the practice of every wise government to adopt certain elementary and fundamental laws, which might become a kind of landmark between the governors and the governed, and which, though they might be made the subject of revision and even of alteration, should not be changed, except on the strongest grounds, and on the most urgent necessity. The principles of the Revolution, as established by the *Bill of Rights* and *Act of Settlement*, have always been considered of this description. It is one of the fundamental principles of these laws, that *the King must be Protestant, and must hold communion with the Church of England*. The conduct of our ancestors at the Revolution, has been a subject of admiration to all wise men and true patriots. The persons who brought about that glorious event were sensible of all the advantages of hereditary monarchy; they determined to depart no further from the strict line of succession, than the necessity of the case and the nature of the circumstances rendered indispensable: but in their prospective settlement of the Constitution, as well as in their remedy of existing grievances, they had the courage and fortitude to consider the situation of the country in all its different contingencies. They put the question to themselves, whether the

inconvenience arising from having a king of a religion different from that which was established in the country, or the evil of breaking in upon the order of succession, were the greater: and, with all their attachment to hereditary monarchy, they determined, that it was more expedient to break in upon the line of succession, than to risk the consequences which might result from having a sovereign of a religion different from that of the kingdom. This law was not founded upon any speculative principles, nor decreed from any idea of imaginary grievances; but was the result of *experience*, and grew out of the evils which had been actually felt under a king who was of a religion hostile to that which was established in the State.

Now, it follows, as a necessary consequence of the limitation of the crown to persons of the Established Religion, that the same principle should apply to the immediate advisers, counsellors, and officers of the Crown,—to those who dispense the favours of the Crown, who are in some instances actually the delegates of the Crown, and who must act in its name, and by its authority. There may be shades of opinion as to the extent to which it may be expedient to apply this principle; but that it is true to a certain extent, and in a certain degree, must appear incontrovertible; for what could be more preposterous than, in a government of law, where the law is above the Crown, to compel the King, under pain of forfeiture, to be of the Established Church, and to allow the Ministers, the Chancellor, the Judges of the land, to be of any religion the most hostile to the Establishment?

There is some reason to believe, that most of the Dissenters (collectively considered) are favourable to the Roman Catholic claims, upon this principle; that, if these claims should be acceded to, they themselves will be released from all the impediments in their way to civil power, honour, and emolument. If the *Catholics*, without taking the *oath of supremacy*, be admitted to seats in Parliament, and all the privileges which

Protestants of the Established Church enjoy, the *Dissenters* will then naturally demand (and with great reason too) the removal of all the restrictions imposed upon them, by the *Corporation* and *Test acts*, the origin of which I shall now consider.—The Commons of England, in the reign of Charles II, had conceived very strong suspicions of the arbitrary intentions of the King and his ministers. They were therefore determined to secure their religion, by an act of Parliament. Accordingly, they passed two laws, for imposing tests on all those who should enjoy any public employment. These acts, usually called the *Corporation* and *Test acts*, require (among other things) that the Sacrament shall be received in the Established Church, besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. So that the *test-laws* were originally enacted to defend the Established Religion and Government, by excluding the *Catholics* from Parliament and public offices. And, at the Revolution, the Parliament considered the *continuance* and ratification of these *test-acts*, as necessary to the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State.

The great end, then, of the *test* is to exclude *all* Non-Conformists from civil and military offices: for our Constitution knows of no friends to the Established Government, who are not well affected to our *ecclesiastical polity*.

I need not rake in the ashes of the dead upon this occasion. For it is too well known, what fate the Church of England underwent, when the struggles of the *Sectarists* for power succeeded to their wishes.

Some *test* then being necessary, what could be a more proper one than that sacred institution, which is the most solemn evidence of being in charity at least with the Church of England, which hath always distinguished herself, above all others, by her ready submission to the secular power; and whose members, for that reason, are better disposed and qualified than any other persons, to assist the civil magistrate, in the due administration of the affairs of State.

Let us now, on one hand, suppose (what simplicity itself

can hardly suppose) a possibility, that the application for the repeal of the *Test-acts* proceeds from a principle of natural, or national right only. Let us, on the other hand, imagine (what indeed is obvious to common apprehension) a possibility, that these violent struggles arise from ambitious and selfish views. If the possibility, on either side, is equal, I leave it with the judgment of every intelligent person to determine, what line of conduct the Legislature ought to pursue: especially as we have, for above a century, experienced the happy and beneficial effects of these laws, which *Catholics* and *Dissenters* of all persuasions would have us lay aside.

I believe there are few instances (if any) of persons, whose religion is of the *republican* cast, who are favourers of *monarchy*. It is therefore to be presumed that our gracious Sovereign, by virtue of his royal authority, will render ineffectual all their machinations—but more especially those of the *Catholics*, which are aimed not only against the State, but with peculiar enmity against the *Church*.

Should we be disposed to yield to the plausible representations of the *Petitioners*, and suffer ourselves to be carried away with the passionate and vehement oratory of public incendiaries, in favour of the repeal of all the tests, designed to secure our Constitution, (which is the admiration of most foreign countries,) it would require no great share of political prophecy, to foretel the dismal consequences. I should, by no means, be surprised to see the House of Commons shortly filled with persons of levelling principles. Soon would the barrier be broken down, which guards both Church and State. Every true friend to the Church now justly glories in the superior excellence of our ecclesiastical system: but then, perhaps, our pious, decent and rational form of worship would be exchanged, under the ensnaring pretence of a purer reformation, but with a real design of appropriating its emoluments. And if we may venture a conjecture from past experience, it is more than probable that we should not be allowed even the benefit of a toleration. And the same inundation which would overwhelm the Church, would also bear down the throne, and the

body of our nobles. Imaginary grievances would be held out to the multitude, in order to animate them to prefer petitions to the Crown, which it could not grant consistently with its own safety. Hence sedition, havoc and desolation would encompass us on every side. The Monarchy and House of Lords would fall a sacrifice to irresistible violence. Then should we be punished with the heaviest judgment which Heaven, in its wrath, ever inflicted upon an unhappy people: I mean, a tyrannical congress. And all this would conclude in the usurpation of some single arch-rebel.

Thus would the bravest and freest people that exist upon the face of the globe be reduced to the most abject slavery, and be entirely at the mercy of a military banditti. This is not a matter of mere speculation. Experience warrants the suggestion. For the same causes will ever produce the same effects.

Against *Catholic* plots it becomes us to be more particularly on our guard; for if they *succeed*, how would that persecuting Church *lord it over God's Protestant heritage!* Behold! conscience bound in chains, and our religious liberties in fetters of iron! Arbitrary power exulting in passive obedience! The throne of a merciless tyrant, exalted upon the ruins of our mild monarchs! Behold! a mock St. Peter, with his triple crown, his indulgences, and all his ridiculous mummeries, triumphing over the decent rites and usages of our Established Church!—Let us draw a veil over the picture, for it is too frightful to look upon!

If then we would avoid the calamities I have suggested, and preserve the Constitution inviolate, let us give no countenance to those who discover too great a fondness to make alterations in it. It is a scriptural apothegm, *Fear thou the Lord, and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change.* Prov. xxiv, 21. Our political system has been held sacred, ever since the Revolution at least; and the bounds of the King's prerogatives, and the people's liberties, have been defined, as well as circumstances would allow. We are governed by laws of our own enacting—they only receive a confirmation from the throne. And shall we give up this privilege, together with

good order, public peace and liberty, for anarchy, confusion, and tyranny? God forbid!

In the course of the Parliamentary debates on the Catholic cause, Mr. Fox urged "the propriety of separating *political* from *religious* establishments." But, in answer to this observation, Sir William Scott said, that "he should quote the authority of Mr. Burke, who stated, that 'the connection between Church and State was the foundation of the Constitution, and was inseparable.' At the Reformation, the *civil* and *religious* Establishments were consolidated. To our ancestors we owed the blessings we enjoyed. In the same charter in which the title of the reigning family was recognised, it was decreed, that the Government, as far as any human provision could be permanent, should be for ever *Protestant*. This had been the prayer of our ancestors, and he trusted it would long be the prayer of the inhabitants of this country. This had been the legacy of our forefathers, and our own acquisition, which had insured to us freedom both of Church and State. Every thing which connected the King with his subjects was founded on a Protestant basis. The King was to be a Protestant, to marry none but a Protestant, and all who were to exercise the delegated powers of the Crown were required to be Protestants. The prayer of the present Petition could not be granted without a surrender of the Constitution. The case of a Protestant Prince surrounded by Catholic Counsellors, for the purpose of carrying on a Protestant government, was as impossible to exist in fact, as in law. The Catholics would have, in that case, a civil and a religious duty, drawing them in different directions; and it is very natural to conclude they would be disposed to lean to the latter, or that they would be unfit persons to watch over the Church Establishment of the State."

But further, the same honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) told the House, that "there was no danger in a State's having its Counsellors or Ministers of a different religion," and he instanced Sully and Neckar in France. But it should be considered that they were *Protestants*, and did not acknowledge the authority of a *foreign* power within the realm, which a

Catholic does; nor had they the larger portion in the community of their own persuasion, to support them in any innovations, which their religious tenets might urge them to attempt. A Popish State may, with some degree of safety at least, trust a *Protestant* at the helm, for he acknowledges its *supremacy*; but a *Protestant* nation cannot, with the same security, take a *Catholic* who denies it.

Mr. Fox likewise adduced Venice as an instance, where both religions equally managed the State. But surely he could not be serious in offering *us* such a model, or quoting her as an example? Venice, where is she now? No longer a nation! but sunk and lost to the world, after all her pride for centuries! And her fall, perhaps, accelerated, by that very mixture of religious power, which he recommended.

Let us now, for a moment, imagine that we see our *Protestant* King surrounded by Popish Counsellors; and (if not in England, yet at least in Ireland) every measure of his Government carried into execution by Popish Ministers, and justice dispensed to the people by Popish Judges: that is to say, by men who are taught to consider their king as an *usurper*, and, in consequence of that usurpation, as well as his religious opinions, involved in errors which must doom him to everlasting misery.

It is a fundamental maxim in our Constitution, that the King by himself can do nothing; that he must in every thing act by the hands and upon the suggestion of others, who are responsible both for the advice and the act. The appointment of Popish ministers does, therefore, in fact, make a Popish Government. It will become folly to talk of this as a *Protestant* country. We know how often our Sovereigns have been constrained to take Ministers whom they disliked, to sanction measures which they personally disapproved: and, indeed, would not the change of the law contended for, itself be the strongest instance possible of such a force? If, on *this* point, the Sovereign be compelled to yield, where shall he make his stand?

Besides—The introduction into Parliament and the cabinet,

of a certain number of the Catholics, heading, and acting as the organ of the Catholic people, might produce other dismal effects. Divisions might arise among the *Protestants*, and a misguided Monarch might attempt to obtain powers, incompatible with the safety of our Church and State, by the aid and support of the Catholic interest, in both Houses. Such views were imputed to Charles I—such conduct was certainly adopted by James II—and of that ill-judged effort we only escaped the fatal consequences, by placing the present royal family on the throne.

Many of the advocates for the Catholic Petition boast much of their wealth, fairly and honourably acquired under our mild and equal laws. Honours (they say) have been conferred on them by the Crown, or restored to their most distinguished families—and they affirm, that the absence of jealousy, and the consciousness of our superior constitutional strength, justified our monarch in conferring these favours, and the *Protestant* people in rejoicing at their attainment.

But great States are distinguished by the wisdom of their *precautionary* measures. Accordingly, the wisdom of British policy has led its Councils to protect the Crown from temptation, and to guard the conduct of the monarch against the effects of his passions and his wishes, by withholding the instruments by which our Constitution in Church and State might be assailed and subverted. Should a British monarch entertain such views, the manufacturing and preparing instruments would alarm the jealousy, and enable the wealth and independence of the empire to rise, in defence of its civil and religious liberties. As far as the feelings of the Crown itself may be concerned, we must consider how cruel it would be to render the exclusion of such a description of subjects from his Councils, and the higher offices of State, a matter of personal objection, and, consequently, of personal odium against the monarch himself. The Catholics surely expect that the capability which they now wish to obtain should be productive of its effects. At present no individual can feel, in his exclusion from power, a personal degradation; he must

attribute it to existing laws, and to the existing Constitution. Give them capability, and then do not confer upon a great proportion that share in the cabinet and the councils of the Crown, which they fancy their boasted numbers and wealth entitle them to, and will you *conciliate* a single individual? Will not *discontent* be more formidable than it is at present? On the other hand, what would be the sentiments and the sensations of the people of this empire, were they to see a Protestant monarch, whose tenure to his throne depends upon his fidelity to his religion, surrounded by Catholic counsellors? Could any circumstances reconcile them to such a choice in the monarch himself? And should the strength of parties (as it is sometimes supposed to have done) force such minister and such counsellors upon the throne, how miserable, how degraded must be the situation of our monarch, and how precarious the state of our religion, and of our civil liberties!

In such a case, let us now suppose (what surely is not impossible) a Popish rebellion in Ireland. Suppose only partial risings or disaffections—what will be the situation of Government? But let me go further, and suppose, that the men who have now promised to maintain the rights of the Protestant Established Church should change their mind, and call for the re-establishment of the Popish religion? They spare not to tell us that it was the religion of our ancestors; and they may go on to say, as they must think, that it was a sin to depart from it; and they may act in consequence. But admitting that this generation will be faithful to their engagements, may not another start up which has made no such professions, and which may feel themselves bound in conscience to obey the mandate of a future Pope, and set about converting us by fire, and by the sword?

They must in truth so act, if they be sincere Roman Catholics: it is the natural course of their tenets; and what is to guard us against their most baleful effects, in the case of a religion which makes it a crime in its members to search the Scriptures for information respecting the truth, or the grounds of their faith?—which does not even allow its priests

to read books of controversy, without a special licence from their bishop?—which lays its very foundation in the ignorance of the laity?

I will not insist upon extreme cases: but surely it cannot be supposed but that there must arise, in a kingdom like this, questions of a religious nature, or differences connected with religion. It is impossible that these should not be fomented and encouraged by the Pope. Whatever be the feelings of the Roman Catholics, he will not lay aside the hope of seeing his supremacy re-established: and though this once great potentate is now sunk very low, his degraded situation will only serve as a stimulus to the utmost exertions, for the recovery of his lost dignity and dominion.

In these, or in any other instances, where the interests of religion and of the different communions may be concerned, how is the Protestant King to be advised by his Popish cabinet? How is the Constitution in Church and State to be maintained?

What are we to think further of a Popish chancellor, and a Popish prime minister, disposing of all the dignities in the Church, and of the cure of souls, in such a large proportion of our parishes?

We may well say, indeed, that human nature is shortsighted; for, at the time when *the Act of Settlement* was passed, when it was made a condition indispensable of succeeding to the Crown, that the wearer of it should not be a Papist, nor married to a Papist, had it been asked in that Parliament, “Do you mean that, at any future time, he shall be allowed a Popish council or Popish ministers,” what would their answer have been? Would they not have said, “Do you think us mad? or shall we suppose that they who come after us will be deprived of common understanding? How can it be supposed, that a Protestant King and a Protestant Parliament, should throw down the fences which we have established, should invite the danger, which we have removed to such a distance?”—I will venture to say, that even

the present situation of the Roman Catholics would not have been thought credible only fifty years ago.

But this is not all; for if the Petition be granted, are we secure that *the Act of Settlement* itself will be suffered to stand? In the same manner that the Petitioners argue, from the possession of the *elective* franchise, to the obtaining of the *representative*; why may they not argue from the having a *Popish Cabinet*, to the having a *Popish King*? I have shewn, I think, that the one is at least as formidable to the liberties and rights of a Protestant Church and State as the other. I am putting the case, not as what can actually take place in the lives of the royal family under whose reign we live, or whom we have in actual contemplation; not as what they would listen to; but as what may become the object of a future application to Parliament, or what might serve as a pretext for future discontents.

The Petitioners tell us, that "their hopes of enjoying even the privileges which they have been capacitated to enjoy, are nearly altogether frustrated," because they are shut out from the Parliament, and the great offices of State. Now, may they not hereafter, with just as much colour, argue, that their having a capacity to be appointed to these offices is of no avail, while there can be none but a *Protestant King* upon the throne? That such a one must naturally choose to have all his ministers of his own persuasion? Will not the same complaint of "Exclusion, humiliation, reproach and suspicion," apply to that case also? And, surely, the Parliament which has been either weak enough, or mistaken enough to yield in the one case, will hardly be expected to hold out in the other.

But, indeed, there is another topic in the Petition which seems directly to point that way. These Petitioners all at once constitute themselves the advocates of their oppressed and injured Sovereign; they tell us that these incapacities which they complain of are "impolitic restraints upon his Majesty's prerogative." How much more easy and natural

will it be to say of *the Act of Settlement*, that it is a cruel and impious restraint upon his Majesty's conscience? And that the repeal of it, by conciliating all the Roman Catholics, in the kingdom, will prodigiously contribute to "the perfect security of every establishment, religious or political, now existing in this realm?"

I solemnly protest, that I do not think that I am stating either an imaginary danger, or putting it in an unfair light. It must be the wish of every sincere and honest Roman Catholic to reconcile his allegiance to the King, with his obedience to the Pope: this can *only* (or, at least, *best*) be done, by the King becoming a Roman Catholic; it must be therefore a "consummation," "most devoutly to be wished," by them. Formerly, it was an event which could not even enter into their contemplation; but as their hopes have successively been raised and gratified, it is become difficult to say to what they may not extend. Certain it is, that every concession granted, has only brought them nearer to the ultimate object which they may have in view. It is certain, also, that it is in the nature of man to rise in his demands, whenever he sees a disposition to yield to them, and to increase his pretensions, in proportion to his means, either real or imagined.

Can we, then, be so infatuated, as to entertain for a moment, the idea of calling on Catholic members to make the laws on which both Church and State depend, and on Catholic counsellors to execute them? Should I even allow the Catholics every merit which men can claim, still, the feelings incidental to human nature, would debar them from being able to make such laws, as those who profess the Established Religion of this country are bound to do.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Catholic Petitioners should find it "painful to their feelings" to take "the oath of supremacy;" or that they should intimate a strong desire to be relieved from the obligation of taking any oath at all. For, what oath can be framed, which will not, somehow or other, interfere with the tenets still maintained by the Head of their

Church? What oath which will not have the appearance at least of a partial renunciation of their faith?

Are there not many sturdy Catholics, who, like Dr. Troy, and Mr. Plowden, insist that their Church remains what it always was? "*Semper eadem.*" Will these gentlemen tell us, whether they admit the Councils of Thoulouse, of the 4th Lateran, of Constance, to be real and true Councils? And will they then tell us, how they reconcile it to their conscience, to bear any kind of allegiance to a Protestant King?

As the Romish Church is constituted, I must insist, it is impossible that the members of it can, with any safety, be admitted to any share in the government of a Protestant State. They themselves ought not to wish it; for if they be honest men, it must be a snare to their consciences. I say this more particularly of a State like ours, where a Prince is so much in the hands of his ministers. I say it of a country like Ireland, where the hopes of re-establishing Papal dominion are not extinct. In truth, a Roman Catholic is hardly a free agent: he is so much in the hands of his spiritual guides, that he cannot depend upon himself; he is liable to be attacked in so many ways, that he cannot be sure of being able to persist to the end, in what he deems to be right.

Surely, then, the man who cannot conscientiously support every part of the Established Government, should not repine, if he be excluded from the administration of it. If he have protection, if justice be equally dealt to him as to all other subjects, if he enjoy toleration in its fullest extent, has he a right to complain?

One of the Lords in Parliament, when the Catholic question was first debated on, expressed himself thus.

"I venture to encourage the confident expectation, that from the Union will ultimately arise a state of order and industrious exertion, which will produce more real and lasting welfare to this people, than all the imaginary promises of every good from the wildest *emancipation*. Neither

time nor circumstances, are *now* favourable to the entertainment of their Petition.—But it has been exclaimed, What, then! is all hope of more fortunate conjuncture, and of more auspicious situation of affairs to be extinguished, and this oppressed people to be driven to comfortless despair?

"I would answer, with conscientious sincerity, that true belief, indeed, would induce me to place the measure of satisfaction best calculated for their real happiness, in a supposed extinction of all views beyond the present *ample means* of comfort and prosperity. Let them be fairly estimated, cherished, and enjoyed; they will produce a harvest of blessings. I dare not at present presume to dream of more, which may be good for *them*, or safe for *us*: but God forbid that we should venture to circumscribe the ways of his Divine Providence, which may remove obstacles at present too strong for our attempt to clear away, or to pass by. There may (and I wish there may) be future reasons, however unexpected now, to prove the *security* with which the Protestants may grant the competency of the Catholics, to be entrusted with the fullest participation of rights and privileges. They may, by habits of industry, good order, harmonious concord, social intercourse, mutual good-will, and reciprocal good offices, and by zealous patriotism and loyalty (all indeed having tendency to their own immediate benefit, and therefore the most gratifying to the liberal spirit of the legislature), give encouragement for unrestricted confidence. They may find cause unequivocally to withdraw that barrier (insuperable, whilst it remains in force) of divided allegiance, the obligation to Papal supremacy, which a noble lord has most forcibly and most eloquently demonstrated to render vain all pretensions to equal rights, by the want of equal conditions. I will not shut out the wish or the hope for such alteration of circumstances; but with our limited power of searching into future chances and changes, we can, I think, retain this *possible* expectation, as the only prevention to a positive declaration, that *here, even here*, must be the Be all and the End

all. We are, I am afraid, yet only on our own necessary defence. We are obliged in conscience, honour, and duty to ourselves, and to our Constitution in Church and State, to throw our shield of self-preservation before us, and on it to exhibit the warning motto of, '*Ne plus ultra.*' "

We have, indeed, gone as far as we ought to do, nay, farther than I could have wished. And it would be happy for the Catholics themselves, (while they retain the obnoxious sentiments they now hold,) if they would be content with the privileges they enjoy, and not be ambitiously aspiring to high situations under a Protestant Government, which they are never likely to acquire. For, let men talk as they will, about *natural rights*, &c., the *general* practice of all civilized nations has been, to require all their executive officers to conform to the religion of the State.

Hence, though Monsieur de Voltaire, in his "Treatise on Religious Toleration," very strongly recommends it, yet he declares, "I pretend not to say, that such persons as are of a different religion from their prince, ought to partake of the places and honours of those who profess the religion by the law established;" and, for the confirmation of his opinion, he mentions the conduct of the English towards the Roman Catholics, who "cannot be invested with civil employments, though, in other respects, they enjoy all the privileges of citizens."

The late celebrated Arch-deacon Paley, also, though decidedly against intolerance, yet was clearly of opinion, that none should be admitted to a share in the administration of any country, "whose disaffection to the subsisting government happened to be connected with certain religious distinctions. The State, undoubtedly, has a right to refuse its power and its confidence to those who seek its destruction. Wherefore, if the generality of any religious sect entertain dispositions hostile to the Constitution, and if Government has no other way of knowing its enemies, than by the religion they profess, the professors of that religion may justly be excluded from offices of trust and authority. But even *here* it should be observed, that it is not against the *religion* that Government shuts its doors, but against

those *political principles*, which, however independent they may be of any articles of religious faith, the members of that communion are found in fact to hold."

And now I particularly call the attention of all the members of the Romish Church, and of others who have pleaded in their defence, to the following "Declarations" of the French King, "given at Versailles, 14th May, 1724."

"ART. XII.—We order, That, according to the ancient decrees of our royal predecessors, and the custom of this realm, none of our subjects may, or shall be admitted into any office of judicature in any of our courts, bailiwicks, *sceneshal's*, or provost's jurisdictions; nor into those of *high justices*; nor even into the places of mayor and sheriffs, and other officers of the guildhall of any town, to enjoy them in their own right, or by deputation, or otherwise; nor in like manner, into the offices of register, attorney, notary, tipstaff, or serjeant, of any jurisdiction whatever; nor, in general, into any public office or post, whether in their own right, or by commission; not even, into any place in our royal palace or palaces, without a certificate from the curate, or, in his absence, from the vicar of the parish, where they live, of their good life and conversation, and of their actual conformity to, and practice of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion.

"ART. XIII.—Our further pleasure is, That no licence be granted, in any of the universities of this kingdom, to those that have studied either law or physic, but upon like certificates granted them by the curates, &c.

"ART. XIV.—No physicians, surgeons, apothecaries or midwives; no booksellers or printers may, or shall, be admitted to exercise their art and profession in any place within our realm, without producing a like certificate, &c."

Now, let the Catholics themselves be judges, with what propriety they can ask those favours from a Protestant State, which have been peremptorily denied to Protestants in a Catholic country? To their own decision also I leave it, whether, on a comparative view of the lenient treatment they have received from the English Government, during the past century,

and of the dreadful sufferings to which *Protestants* have been exposed in *France* and other *Catholic* nations, they have any just ground for discontent? How many thousands of *Protestants* have been shut in prisons and inquisitions, and even cruelly butchered, merely on account of their *religious* principles; while the *Catholics* in Great Britain, have not only been free from persecution unto death, but have been quietly allowed to worship God in their own chapels, and in their own way, and have also enjoyed every civil liberty, compatible with the security of the State?

SECTION VIII.

Some religious opinions of the Roman Catholics, which are so repugnant not only to reason, but to "the Scriptures of Truth," that it would be sinful, in any Protestant Government, to consider those who hold them as entitled to the same civil immunities which those of the Established Religion enjoy.

I have hitherto contended, that the claims of the Roman Catholics are inadmissible, when considered in a *political* point of view; but I would now further observe, that they are equally inadmissible, when beheld in a *religious* light. To strengthen this assertion, I shall lay before the reader what was lately said upon this subject, by a member in the House of Commons. "He thought (and, he hoped, without bigotry) that it was a question for a religious community to consider, whether they ought to do any thing to increase the influence of a religion which they conceived to be contrary to the *true* one. A sort of equalising spirit had gone forth; and those who were now called *liberal* men were averse to any distinctions, on account of religious opinions. But if this equalising spirit, or this sort of liberality, was to be extended to all the corporations of the kingdom, he could not but con-

ceive that all respect for the Established Religion would cease, if all the symbols of office were displayed, sometimes in *church*, sometimes at *mass*, and sometimes in a *synagogue*. The union between Church and State (however it might be derided by some) appeared to him essentially necessary for the preservation of our Constitution; and the downfall of the Church would be one of the surest means to effect the downfall of the State."

The peculiar tenets of the Catholics, which are so reprehensible in the judgment of Protestants, I shall now exhibit, in their own words.

The following Popish creed was formed and published by the Pope, December 9, 1564:—

"I. I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and ALL other observations and constitutions of the same Church.

"II. I do admit the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that holy mother Church doth, and hath admitted, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; and I will never receive and interpret them but according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

"III. I do profess that there are *seven* sacraments of the new law, truly and properly so called, *instituted* by JESUS CHRIST our Lord, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one, viz., *baptism*, *confirmation*, *eucharist*, *penance*, *extreme unction*, *orders*, and *marriage*; and that they do confer grace; and that of these, *baptism*, *confirmation*, and *orders*, may not be repeated without sacrilege: I do also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in her solemn administration of the abovesaid sacraments.

"IV. I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of *Trent*, concerning *original sin* and *justification*.

"V. I do also profess, that in the *mass* there is offered unto God, a *true*, *proper*, and *propitiatory sacrifice* for the living and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the eucha-

rist, there is *truly, really, and substantially*, the *BODY*, and *BLOOD*, together with the *SOUL* and *DIVINITY* of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the *bread* into the *body*, and of the whole substance of the *wine* into the *blood*, which conversion the Catholic Church calls *transubstantiation*."

[And yet !]

"VI. I confess, that under *one* kind only, *whole* and *entire* *CHRIST*, and a true sacrament, is taken and received."

"VII. I do firmly believe there is a *purgatory*, and that the souls detained there, do receive help by the prayers of the faithful.

"VIII. I do likewise believe, that the *saints*, reigning together with *CHRIST*, are to be *worshipped and prayed* unto, and that they do offer prayers unto *GOD* for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

"IX. I do most firmly assert, that the *IMAGES* of *CHRIST*, and of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of *GOD*, and of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and worship ought to be given to them.

"X. I do affirm, that the power of *indulgencies* was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very *beneficial* to Christian people.

"XI. I do acknowledge the holy Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church, to be the *Mother* and *Mistress* of *ALL* Churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the *Bishop of Rome*, the successor of *St. PETER*, the *Prince* of the Apostles, and *Vicar* of *JESUS CHRIST*.

"XII. I do undoubtedly receive and profess *ALL OTHER* things, which have been delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of *TRENT*; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject and anathematize."*

* Now, all these gross absurdities, and unscriptural human devices, are called, by Papists, "the true Catholic faith, out of

But lest it should be said, that these are *antiquated* and *obsolete* opinions, not held by Catholics of the present day, I shall now present the reader with some extracts from a Catholic bishop's work, (published but two years ago,) of which this is the title-page:—"THE MOST REV. DR. JAMES BUTLER'S CATECHISM; revised, enlarged, approved, and recommended, by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a general Catechism for the Kingdom. Sixth edition, corrected, and improved. Dublin: printed by H. Fitzpatrick, 4, Capel-street, printer and bookseller to the Roman Catholic College, Maynooth. 1810.

"Of the true Church.

"Q. What do you mean by the true Church?

"A. The congregation of all the faithful, who, being baptized, profess the same doctrine, partake of the same sacraments, and are governed by their lawful pastors under our visible head on earth.

"Q. How do you call the true Church?

"A. *The Holy Catholic Church*. Apostles' Creed.

"Q. Is there any other true Church, besides the holy Catholic Church?

"A. No; as there is but *one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and father of all*; there is but one true Church. Ephes. iv.

"Q. Are all obliged to be of the true Church?

"A. Yes; no one can be saved out of it. Acts, ii. Luke, x. John, x. Matt. xviii.

"Q. Why do we call the Church Roman?

"A. Because the visible head of the Church is Bishop of Rome; and because St. Peter and his successors fixed their See in Rome.

which no man can be saved." [Vera et Catholica fides, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.] With what *truth, modesty, and charity*, let the Protestant reader determine!

"Q. Who is the visible head of the Church?

"A. The Pope; who is Christ's vicar on earth, and supreme visible head of the Church.

"Q. To whom does the Pope succeed as visible head of the Church?

"A. To St. Peter, who was chief of the Apostles, Christ's vicar upon earth, and first Pope and Bishop of Rome.

"Q. When was St. Peter made Pope, or head of the Church?

"A. Chiefly when Christ said to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,—and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven! Feed my lambs, feed my sheep.* Matt. xxvi. John, xxi.

"Q. What do these texts of Scripture prove?

"A. That Christ committed to St. Peter, and to his lawful successors, the care of his whole flock, that is, of his whole Church, both pastors and people.

"Q. Who succeed to the other Apostles?

"A. The bishops of the holy Catholic Church.

"Q. Can the Church err in what it teaches?

"A. No; because Christ promised to the pastors of his Church, *Behold I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.* Matt. xxviii. 20.

"Q. What else did Christ promise to his Church?

"A. *That the gates of hell should not prevail against it.* Matt. xvi. 18.

"Q. What other advantages have we in the true Church?

"A. We have true faith, *with the communion of saints, and the forgiveness of sins.* Ap. Cr.

"Q. What means the forgiveness of sins?

"A. That Christ left to the pastors of his Church the power of *forgiving sins.* St. John, xx. 23.

" On Purgatory.

"Q. What is Purgatory?

"A. A place of punishment in the other life, where some souls suffer for a time, before they can go to heaven. Matt. xii. 32.

"Q. Do any others go to Purgatory besides those who die in *venial* sin?

"A. Yes; all who die indebted to God's justice on account of *mortal* sin.

"Q. Can the souls in Purgatory be relieved by our prayers and other good works?

"A. Yes; being children of God, and still members of the Church, they share in the communion of saints—and the Scripture says, *It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.* 2 Macc. xii. 46.

" On the Precepts of the Church.*

"Q. Are there any other commandments besides the ten commandments of God?

"A. There are the commandments, or precepts of the Church, which are chiefly six.

"Q. Say the six commandments of the Church.

"A. 1. To hear Mass on Sundays, and all holy days of obligation.

"2. To fast and abstain on the days commanded.

"3. To confess our sins at least once a year.

"4. To receive *worthily* the blessed Eucharist, at Easter, or within the time appointed.

"5. To contribute to the support of our pastors.

"6. Not to solemnize marriage at the forbidden times; nor to marry persons within the forbidden degrees of kindred, or otherwise prohibited by the Church; nor clandestinely.

"Q. What do you mean by fast days?

"A. Certain days on which we are allowed but one meal, and forbidden flesh-meat.

"Q. What do you mean by days of abstinence?

* To confirm some of the precepts of the Church, this "Most Rev. Dr. Butler" quotes the Councils of Lateran and of Trent, and thereby shews, that whatever they decreed, all who profess the Catholic religion are bound to obey.

"A. Certain days on which we are forbidden to eat flesh-meat, but are allowed the usual number of meals.

"Q. Is it as strictly forbidden by the Church to eat flesh-meat on Saturday as on Friday?

"A. Yes; and to eat flesh-meat on a Saturday, or any other day on which it is forbidden, without necessity, and leave from the Church, is very sinful.

"On the Sacraments.

"Q. How many Sacraments are there?

"A. Seven; Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Order, and Matrimony. *Council of Trent, S. S. 7. c. 1.**

* There is a remarkable decree of the Council of Trent, with respect to all these pretended seven Sacraments: "If any one shall say, that Christ did not institute all the Sacraments of the new law, or that they are more or less than seven, or that any one of the seven is not truly and properly a Sacrament, let him be anathema." [Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia à Jesu Christo domino nostro instituta, aut esse plura vel pauciora quàm septem, videlicet, Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Penitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse verè et propriè sacramentum, anathema sit. *Concil Trident. S. 7. 3. Martii, 1547. Can. 1.*] The Popish clergy require also, under pain of being pronounced *accursed*, "A full approbation of all the received and approved rites the Church is accustomed to use, in the solemn administration of the Sacraments." [Si quis dixerit receptos et approbatos et ecclesiæ Catholicæ ritus in solemniori sacramentorum administratione adhiberi consuetos, aut contemni, aut sine peccato à ministris pro libito omitto, aut in novos alios per quem cunque ecclesiarum pastorem mutare posse, anathema sit. *Ib. Can. 13.*] Thus the Roman Church has taken effectual care, that every one must have communion with her in her errors and corruptions, or have no communion with her at all. Pope Boniface VIII. expressly declared, accordingly, "That obedience to the bishop of Rome was absolutely necessary to salvation." [Porro subesse Romano pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus,

"On the blessed Eucharist.

"Q. What is the blessed Eucharist?

"A. The body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, under the appearances of bread and wine.

"Q. What do you mean by the appearances of bread and wine?

"A. The taste, colour, and form of bread and wine, which still remain, after the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ.

"Q. Are both the body and blood of Christ, under the appearance of bread, and under the appearance of wine?

"A. Christ is whole and entire, *true God* and *true Man*, under the appearance of each.

"Q. Are we to believe, that the God of all Glory is under the appearances of our corporal food?

"A. Yes; and we must also believe that the same God of all Glory suffered death, under the appearance of a criminal on the cross.

"Q. Did Christ give power to the priests of his Church, to change bread and wine into his body and blood?

"A. Yes; when he said to his apostles at his last supper, *Do this for a commemoration of me. Luke, xxii. 19.*

"Q. What is the Sacrifice of the New Law?

"A. The Mass.

"Q. What is the Mass?

"A. The sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which are really present under the appearances of bread and wine; and are offered to God by the priest for the living and the dead.

"Q. Is the Mass a different sacrifice from that of the Cross?

"A. No; because the same Christ, who once offered himself a bleeding victim to his heavenly Father on the cross,

et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis. *Bonifacius oct. Extravag. Com. Tit. viii. c. 1, de majoritate et obedientiâ.*]

continues to offer himself in an unbloody manner by the hands of his priests, on our altars.

"On Confession and Indulgencies."

"Q. What should we do after confession?

"A. We should return God thanks; and diligently perform the penance enjoined by the confessor.

"Q. What do you mean by the penance enjoined by the confessor?

"A. The prayers and other good works which he enjoins on penitents, in satisfaction for their sins.

"Q. Will the penance, enjoined in confession, always satisfy for our sins?

"A. No; but whatever is wanting may be supplied by indulgencies, and our own penitential endeavours.

"Q. What does the Church teach concerning indulgencies?

"A. That Christ gave power to the Church to grant indulgencies; and that they are most useful to Christian people. *Conc. Trid.* xi. 25.

"Q. What is the use of an indulgence?

"A. It releases from canonical penances, enjoined by the Church on penitents, for certain sins.

"Q. Has an indulgence any other effect?

"A. It also remits the temporary punishments, with which God often visits our sins—and which must be suffered in this life, or in the next; unless cancelled by indulgencies, by acts of penance, or other good works.

"Q. Has the Church power to grant such indulgencies?

"A. Yes; *whatsoever*, says Christ to St. Peter, *thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.*" *Matt.* xvi. 19; *2 Cor.* ii. 10."

Here is a curious specimen of the Popish belief, though we may assume that it has been expressed with the utmost caution and art, to render it the less objectionable to Protestants. But, disguised as it is, I think enough appears to render it truly of-

fensive. If, however, we are willing to subscribe to such a creed, I can only pity our ignorance, and say, as Christ said to the Saducees, "You do err, not knowing the Scriptures."

False and dangerous as these corruptions of Christianity are, it is still more shocking to find, that a sentence of excommunication and damnation is denounced against all who will not submit to them; and that the members of the Romish Church are not only required to receive them as articles of faith, but to join with their priests in cursing and anathematizing those who are called *Protestants*, because they *protest* against the religion which teaches them.

And here, I wish to remind my Protestant brethren of Solomon's words, "The curse causeless shall not come"—(*Prov.* xxvi. 2); and also of our Saviour's command, "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." *Matt.* v. 44. For my part, I cordially agree with Dr. Middleton in saying, "I can live not only in charity, but in friendship with the Papists, without the least inclination to offend them, any further than by obstructing *all endeavours* to introduce a religion among us, which would necessarily be ruinous to the liberty of our country," and, in my opinion, to the spiritual and eternal interests of men.

Under this impression, therefore, and being "affectionately desirous" of deterring my fellow-creatures from embracing so corrupt a religion, I ask (upon the principles of common sense), what can any rational man think of such contemptible doctrines, as the *infallibility* of a poor weak human being, and his *supremacy* over all the kingdoms and empires upon earth, yea, over heaven and hell, of which he keeps the keys.* Who can believe that a priest (and he, perhaps, a wicked man) can transubstantiate a wafer, or a bit of bread, into a human body and soul, yea, into the very nature of God? Who can

* In the Revelation (iii. 7.) it is emphatically said of Christ, the Head of the Church, that "*he hath the key of David, he openeth, and no man shutteth, and shutteth, and no man openeth,*"—consequently not even the Pope himself.

suppose, that we are allowed to worship the Omnipotent Being under images of wood, or stone, silver or gold? * Who can persuade himself that the Pope, who is a man "subject to like passions with others," is endued with a divine power to sell *pardons* for all kinds of sin, and *indulgencies* for all manner of wickedness? †

Now, St. Peter (whose successor the Pope pretends to be) has warned us against all such deceivers, saying, "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies; and, through covetousness, shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." 2 Pet. ii. 1, 3.

Who can help being offended at the Popish arrogance, in refusing *the cup* to the laity, when there is not a single instance in Scripture to sanction such a practice? ‡ Who is not grieved,

* "We ought not to think, that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art, and man's device." Acts, xvii. 29. "They change the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man." Rom. i. 23.

† It appears, from the following extracts of the fees of the Roman chancery, (taken from a book published by the Pope's authority,) that the prices of absolution are as follow:

For lying with a woman in the church, and there committing other enormities	—	—	0	2	0
For gross and wilful perjury	—	—	0	2	0
For a layman for murdering a layman	—	—	0	1	8
But for laying violent hands on a priest, though without shedding blood	—	—	0	5	8
For defiling a virgin	—	—	0	2	0
For a priest or clergyman keeping a concubine	—	—	0	2	4
For committing incest	—	—	0	1	8
But, for forging the Pope's hand-writing	—	—	0	6	0
—See Taxa S. Cancellariæ Apostolicæ.					

‡ Christ, the great Prophet of his Church, has taught us a different lesson. He does not confine the drinking of his blood (that is, the *wine*, which is the symbol of it) to his Apostles alone, but says in general terms: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." And when he instituted the sacrament, we are told, that "he took *the cup*, and gave it to them, saying, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed," (not for you my Apostles only, but) "for *many*, for the remission of sins"—even as many as "shall believe on me, through your word."

that millions of common people should be prohibited by their priests, from "searching the Scriptures," in direct contradiction to Christ's command, though they have souls as infinite in value and duration, as the proudest Pope, or the highest monarch upon earth? And, lastly, what can any serious Christian think of the "damnable heresy" of the Popish clergy, in setting up the vain traditions of their Church above the authority of the word of God, particularly, by "forbidding to marry," and enjoining "abstinence from meats," at their pleasure? *

If, however, the God whom we serve tolerates such opinions as these, which are an insult to his natural and moral perfections, we are bound to do likewise; but to give any farther countenance to the professors of them, is to encourage blasphemy, and the practice of idolatry, by law, in a Christian country. To do any thing more than merely to *tolerate* Popery, is to be instrumental to the perdition of immortal souls now existing, and of millions of spirits which at present have no existence, but in the prescience of God; and may eventually be the means of bringing ruin on ourselves, and our posterity. Therefore, Protestants, beware! oh, beware!

* "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that, in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with an hot iron, *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats*, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, of them which believe and know the truth." "Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your *traditions*. Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, "This people draweth nigh unto me with their *mouth*, and honoureth me with their *lips*, but their *heart* is far from me: but in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the *commandments of men*."

SECTION IX.

An answer to those who contend, that the Claims of the Catholics should be complied with, on account of their numbers, strength, and opulence; and that such a concession is necessary, in order to conciliate them, to quiet all disturbances, and to promote peace and unanimity in Ireland. The adoption of the innovations proposed, would new-model the Constitution—violate the principles of the Reformation, and the Revolution—discontent the loyal Protestants of Ireland, (who have preserved and strengthened the connection between the two countries) and not content the Roman Catholics—would create division, confusion, and discord—might unsettle the ecclesiastical and lay property of Ireland—revive all those mischiefs which the Revolution was calculated to redress—and, in short, might destroy the present Establishment.

NOT only common policy, but the “mild and tolerant spirit of the Protestant religion,” must naturally excite us to do every thing we can (consistently with our own safety) for the welfare and comfort of the Roman Catholics, though so very opposite in principle. Accordingly, that moderate and benevolent prelate, the Bishop of Durham, thus accosted the House of Lords, when the subject of Catholic Emancipation was first discussed.

“How far it has been our disposition to shew, not merely *toleration*, but real and active *beneficence* to persons differing from us in articles of faith, may have appeared by the reception and protection which this country has recently afforded to the *French priests*:—where, to religious prejudices, was superadded political danger; and when we had no security against the introduction of spies and enemies; nor any reasonable assurance that there might not be individuals among them, desirous of purchasing their return, on almost any con-

ditions which the usurped power of the French Government might think proper to dictate.

“In that instance we had also to encounter religious danger from the bigoted spirit of conversion, which characterizes their religion;—from the unfavourable sentiments which they had nourished from their earliest infancy, with respect to English Protestants;—and from a peculiar species of domineering intolerance, which distinguishes the French from all other nations.—And yet these considerations, my Lords, did not deter us from receiving them with all the warm charity of Christians, and the liberality of Englishmen;—exhibited not merely by the higher orders, in the hour of plenty, but by the poor and necessitous, at a period of general scarcity.

“If we could do so much, and do it so willingly, for foreigners and enemies, can it for a moment be supposed, that we are not prepared to shew every degree of warm and affectionate kindness to our friends and fellow-subjects in Ireland?—can it be imagined that we shall not be ready to forget every difference of opinion, and to endeavour to promote their happiness and improvement, to the utmost of our power?

“In looking to the welfare of the great mass of Roman Catholics in Ireland, I mean that useful body of men, which, in every country, must compose the most numerous class of its inhabitants, it will be wise and benevolent so to use the power which the Constitution has placed in us, as a part of a Protestant legislature, as to do for them individually *all* that (were the power in *their* hands) they would be wise in doing for themselves. In this view, my Lords, it may be a subject for our consideration, how far we can better provide for the discharge of their religious duties, and how far we may with propriety assist them in that respect. We may enquire how far we can improve their temporal condition, by supplying the means and motives of industry, and by every exertion of kindness, which can promote their domestic comfort, improve their character, and meliorate their condition:—and we may endeavour to make a more general provision for the educa-

cation of their children; not interfering with their religious tenets, but attending to their instruction,—to making them useful to themselves and to the community,—and to giving them the unequivocal advantage of religious and moral habits.

“ These, my Lords, I looked to, as the objects of this Petition. But what do I find in it?—Nothing in which the general mass of the Irish Catholics is concerned; nothing connected with personal toleration;—nothing to promote the social and domestic habits of the labouring class, or to improve their resources;—nothing, my Lords, which is to have a general operation in *bettering the condition* of our Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland;—or is calculated to do more—than to give certain privileges and influence to a very few opulent individuals among them. In short, my Lords, this is not a Petition for *toleration*, but a demand of *power*. It is a complaint, that the present system detaches from property its proportion of political weight and influence; and it asks of the Legislature three things,—the right of sitting in Parliament; of exercising corporate offices; and of being subjected to the burthen of acting as sheriffs of counties:—the first, comprising the functions of legislation; the second, the privileges of corporate franchise; and the third, the important delegation of his Majesty’s executive power, in every county of Ireland.

“ These, my Lords, are powers of no inconsiderable magnitude.—But before we grant them, let us at least pause, until we have ascertained how far their effects may extend; and whether, after such a concession, we shall, or shall not, be able to obtain toleration for our Protestant fellow-subjects in Ireland.

“ In the consideration of this subject, it will be necessary to advert to the superior number of Papists in Ireland;—to the peculiar powers which their clergy exercise over the laity;—to the general connection of that clergy with a *foreign* power;—and to the degraded and servile dependance of the Head of their Church, upon a State extremely inimical to this

country.—We must also advert to the irritation of recent hostilities; and not merely to the probable consequences to the Irish Protestants, but also the danger to the Catholics themselves; and, I may add, to the *indelicacy*, not to use a harsher term, of placing increased power in their hands, circumstanced and connected as they at present are.—It will also be important that your Lordships should consider the consequences as to *other sects*;—whether you can refuse to *any* Irish Protestant, what you grant to *every* Irish Catholic; and again, on what ground you can give to the Irish Catholics, that which you withhold from the Catholics in England; and where, and upon what principle, the line is to be drawn.

“ All this requires serious and mature deliberation. It must again and again be considered; and every possible effect and consequence weighed with the nicest and most attentive accuracy, and with the most patient continuance of labour, before a change so fundamental and unprecedented be adopted.”

Pursuant to this advice, I shall first consider what is asked in “ Catholic Emancipation.” Do they require the Praetor’s wand to be released from servitude—to hold property—to be protected in their persons and possessions? No; in all these respects, they are as free as any subjects in the world. Do you talk of *emancipating* copy-holders, custom-house officers, or excise officers? The term, as it was first intended, applies to *emancipating* Ireland, that is, to *separate* it from the Government of, and connection with, England. But what is asked? To abolish all distinction between Protestants and Papists—to place the Papists upon an equality with the Protestants. Whilst any distinction remains, nowever high or special, the grievance remains. But for this purpose, Parliament cannot move a step without the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts. In the opinion of many, and to the extent to which the argument leads, the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Act of Union with Scotland, and even the King’s Coronation Oath, must also be repealed.

Perhaps, there may arise a question, between original compact, and the supremacy of Parliament. Undoubtedly, our laws are not like those of the Medes and Persians, that alter not—undoubtedly, no Parliament has greater power than the succeeding one. But considering the solemnity attendant upon these laws, is it not most unwise to raise doubts, and agitate the minds of men upon points, which (as multitudes believe) strike at the very settlement of, and right to, the Crown itself, without urgent and pressing necessity—without being convinced, first, that we shall do no harm—next, that we shall do essential benefit—and, lastly, that a plan of greater public utility is to be established, in room of that which it is proposed to take away?

Now, what are the reasons assigned for this extraordinary measure? One of the principal is, that the *numbers, wealth, and power* of the Catholic body entitle them to the favour they ask; and that policy should induce us to grant it.

It is averred, that the *Catholics* in Ireland amount to *four* millions, and that the *Protestants* do not form *one-tenth* of that number. But Dr. Duigenan, lately, in the House of Commons, by a variety of calculations, *disproved* this statement, and maintained, that the Protestants were but as *three* to *five* of the whole population. From the enumerations which he was led to make, in two extensive parishes, compared with the number of hearths, as ascertained from the hearth-tax, and the number of inhabitants in each house, he was led to conclude that there were not above 3,500,000 souls in Ireland. About the year 1762, a Catholic bishop, Dr. Burke, published a book, in which he declared, that the number of Catholics, in the whole kingdom, did not exceed *two millions*, and he lamented much, that the proportion of the inhabitants had increased greatly on the Protestant side, in the interval between 1731 and 1762. To suppose, then, that they had, since that time, *doubled* their population; with such drains and emigrations operating continually every year, was quite absurd, especially when it appeared, that the population of England had increased little more than three

millions since the Revolution, at which period it was estimated at *seven*. But, as there was a bill in progress through the House, for ascertaining the population of Ireland, Dr. Duigenan observed, that till the *census* was actually taken, there was only assertion against assertion; and he hoped that one was as good as another. It was clear to him that the aggregate number of all the inhabitants was not more than he had stated them; and that, out of the 3,500,000, he believed that one million and two hundred thousand were Protestants. And if all the inhabitants of the British Isles amount to sixteen millions, then the Romanists do not exceed one-eighth part of that population.

As to the *wealth* and power of the Catholics in Ireland, he remarked, that they, also, were prodigiously exaggerated. With respect to *real* property, he was confident they did not possess one out of 49 parts of the whole; and as to *commercial* property, they did not possess one-tenth of it, nor one thousandth part of the property of the united kingdom: so that, in fact, they compose the mob and beggary of Ireland, and are not of consequence enough, either in multitude, riches, or influence, to demand (as the Petition virtually does) the subversion of the Constitution in Church and State, and the destruction of the Irish Protestants, for their gratification. Surely, the mob, and the *indigent* part of the population of any country, (like the Romanists of Ireland,) ought not to be indulged, at the expence of the ruin of the *loyal, opulent, and respectable* part. Should the contrary conduct be pursued, agrarian laws, and the system of equality, must be adopted in every state; because the poor in every state compose the bulk of the population, and are desirous of degrading and plundering the great and the rich in every state, as well as in Ireland. Oh, let us beware of these levelling principles!

Let us consider too, that if the demands of the Petitioners were conceded to their numbers and their majority, no possibility would remain of refusing to comply with any future

demands they may think proper to make. What their numbers and majority shall have once obtained, would only tend to stimulate them to fresh demands, until nothing remained for them to require, and they became not merely a prevailing party in the Government, but exclusively the Government itself.

It would, therefore, be reasoning like *novices*, and not like *statesmen*, to make the great fundamental principles of a constitution (such as this mighty empire boasts of) bend so far, as to give up *bulwarks*, in exchange for the *strength* expected to be derived from the grant of what the Catholic Petitioners sue for. Should they obtain their wish, can it be rationally supposed, that they will be the more firmly united to the Protestants, and exert themselves for the defence of an Establishment, which the very nature of their religion, and their private and public interests must prompt them to subvert? If, then, we add to their political power, we only *strengthen their hands*, and *weaken our own*—we furnish them with weapons, which they will not fail to use against ourselves.

The *numbers* of the Irish Catholics have been stated with a double object, to describe them as a source of *strength*, if conciliated, and of *terror*, if their demands be refused. But the truth is, we can only gratify a few individuals among them, of exalted rank, and ambitious views. The Catholic populace of Ireland care little or nothing about the aggrandisement of the few noblemen who are of their religion, if they cannot deliver them from the payment of tithes and taxes, and raise them out of their present low condition: and if they find that this be not done for them, their dissatisfaction will be greater than ever. Besides, if the higher classes of the Catholics have the influence which they and their advocates pretend to, and yet have not hitherto exerted it, in suppressing their various insurrections, they can have no claim upon the confidence of the Legislature: but if (as I believe the case to be) they possess no power, when opposed to the *passions* of the inferior people, and the interested efforts of their clergy, I

cannot but consider the yielding to their demands, as a probable sacrifice of our present Establishment, for a most immaterial consideration.

Both in and out of Parliament allusions have been often made to the valour of the British armies, full of the brave men who are the objects of this motion. But, would they not bleed for us, in spite of their disqualifications? Would they not, as became united citizens of one empire, still continue to win and wear the laurel, which they so eminently were entitled to? Would they not still co-operate in the cause into which they at first embarked? If those who supported their claims thought they were aggrieved, they need only look to their conduct in the British service, in order to be convinced that the Irish soldiers and sailors do not think themselves aggrieved. They have acted nobly *without* power, but can we be assured that their gallantry will be greater, or even as great, if they were endued *with* power? The experiment would be replete with hazard. It is well known, that the element of *fire* “is a *good servant*, but a *bad master*.” Kept under control, it is not to be feared; but to suffer it to gain ascendancy, would be ruinous. I am not disposed to retaliate upon the Catholics the sins of their forefathers; but at the same time, it is but justice due to ourselves, to restrict them from imitating their ancestors. Even in their present *weak* state, they have often attempted to follow the example. Shall we then encourage them to pursue the same plan, by arming them with *power*? It would be madness in the extreme. While they are under restraint, the Protestants are able, of themselves, to subdue any rebellion which may arise in the country, as they have often done before. In 1799, they were taken by surprise, and many hundreds of them slaughtered in cold blood; but, notwithstanding, they quelled the insurrection in two months. God forbid that any such disturbance should happen again; but if it should, I am confident the Protestants have sufficient power to crush it *alone*, so that England need not be alarmed with croaking prophecies of *Irish insecurity*.

They who are natives of Ireland, and have spent most of their life in it, must certainly know the situation of the country, and the disposition of the Catholics, there, far better than the inhabitants of this kingdom. And, therefore, it is to be hoped that the opinion of the members of Parliament who come from thence, will have its due weight.

Now, (says Mr. Alexander,) "Let England but understand her true interest; let her justly appreciate the spirit, zeal, and loyalty of the Protestants of Ireland; let her be convinced *they* feel their properties, their honours, and their lives dependent upon British connexion. But if England unfortunately forgets what is due to as brave and as zealous allies as any nation ever possessed, *her Protestant subjects of Ireland*, she would have the most fatal reasons to lament her acquiescence in *their* and *her own* destruction. Let England be firm in her adherence to her laws and Constitution. No Catholic can be oppressed by the laws in Ireland; his property and his person are protected by the same code and juries which protect the Protestant. If, notwithstanding these advantages, any of them should appeal to numbers, and be rashly tempted into rebellion, arms and the law must punish the rebels! With such impressions upon my mind, I should have felt myself unworthy of being the representative of my Protestant countrymen, had I not borne testimony to their zeal and their loyalty. I trust in God, and in the courage of the nation, that we are able to defend our laws, religion, and property; to maintain our faith, and to uphold the throne."

Indeed, I believe no danger is to be apprehended while the Irish Government is firm, and while we are disposed to support its acts. To me it appears that the alleged discontents are the strongest argument against the present measure: for even if the House were disposed to do all that is required of it, the measure should seem to spring *spontaneously* from its own bounty and liberality, and not, as might now be imputed, from fear. The Catholics had certainly assumed such a tone of determined hostility,—they had treated the promulgations of

Government with such contumely, that any concession must at present appear, in the extremest degree, mean and pusillanimous. The Catholics would then be the victors, the Government the vanquished; and, like all other victors, the Catholics would press on to make new demands, and enforce new claims.

Let us now attend to the reasoning of that sagacious statesman, Mr. Foster? "What is demanded by the Roman Catholics in their Petition? *Political power only*; which even their advocates in Parliament have confessed. And what are the inducements held out to us for granting it? They tell us, it will conciliate Ireland; that it will incorporate four-fifths of the people there, and one-fifth of all our population, at this perilous moment, when we have an enemy to contend with, consisting of thirty-six millions of people, and we have only fifteen millions to oppose to him; that, by not granting this Petition, we deprive ourselves of one-fifth of our national vigour, and of our physical strength; and that four-fifths of the Irish nation are thus rendered of no use to the empire. Such are the arguments of the honourable mover, and of the other gentleman, Mr. Grattan. But how do their arguments support them? They forget that, almost in the same breath, when they wish to prove the *safety* of the measure, they tell you, and tell you truly, how much the empire is indebted to the Irish; that the Irish composed a great and illustrious part of that gallant army which conquered Egypt; that they supply a large proportion of the British fleet with sailors; and that, to their courage and to their ardour, Lord Nelson was indebted for his glorious victory at the Nile. They tell you too, that half your armies in every war, half the militia, and a large portion of the Irish yeomanry which overpowered the late rebellion, and saved Ireland to the empire, were Catholics of Ireland. I agree with them in the whole, to the honour of my countrymen: and what follows? That we have now, of their own shewing, the full physical force, the full national vigour, which they *inconsistently* bid us acquire, by this unnecessary measure; and I will add more, that if the

armies want increase, if the navy requires additional hands, this measure will not add one argument to the recruit, and Irishmen will come forward with the same ardour, and with the same alacrity, which has distinguished the character of their country for its love of military glory, whether you grant the Petition or not.

“ But if *conciliation* is to follow, we ought to know whom we are bid to conciliate: is it the lower and middling ranks of the Catholic people? I will assert, in presence of the many gentlemen from Ireland, who can contradict me if I am wrong, that the mass of that people there do not know what this claim means. Ask them what Catholic emancipation is; and so totally ignorant are they about it, that some say it is an exemption from tithes; others, that it is to lower rents; others, that it will save taxes. In short, all who have heard of it (for many neither know nor care about it) will give you their own conjectures of whatever claim, debt, or demand, public or private, they wish to be freed from: scarce any believe it to be what it really is, a struggle for a few offices of political influence, or seats in Parliament, which the lower ranks cannot enjoy, and feel no interest in. These lower ranks do not, and cannot, urge what they neither want nor comprehend. It is not, therefore, they who call for this measure. And now let us see how the argument stands as to the superior orders of the Catholics.

“ Do the gentlemen tell you, the measure is necessary to secure their loyalty, or to procure their strength in this hour of peril? They pay them a bad compliment indeed, if they represent this boon, or any other, as *necessary to make or keep them loyal*; a compliment which I should be ashamed to offer. I cannot believe that the higher ranks of the Catholics are only *conditionally loyal*, or that they would qualify their attachment to the empire, by resting it on claims to be conceded, or stipulations to be bargained for: but if I could believe it, it would form with me an insurmountable bar to giving them that political power, which is the acknowledged object of their Petition; and it ought to decide us all unanimously

and instantly to reject a demand so made. This argument of *conciliation*, therefore, so far as respects the loyalty, or accession of the *lower orders* to the national strength, is confuted by the facts which the gentlemen who offer it have themselves urged; and the *upper orders* cannot admit it, without acknowledging a qualified and temporising loyalty only, which their conduct disallows.”

Again—With respect to the *number* of the Roman Catholics, this should be considered in relation to the whole empire. In ascertaining the class of persons in whom the power of the State is to be vested, property, rank, respectability, talent, knowledge, judgment, and congeniality of principles with those of the State, are more to be attended to than *numbers*. If numbers and physical force, *unaccompanied by political weight and influence*, whilst they can be brought into action only in opposition to, and under the control of the laws, and of the systematic authority of the State, are to *excite apprehension*, how much more *serious cause of alarm* would there be, if the same physical strength were *aided by political weight and influence*, moulding and shaping the laws so as to give a free and uncontrolled course to such conjoined force?

These are neither idle speculations, nor groundless fears—they are founded upon fatal experience. There are many documents to prove, that the object of the United Irishmen, for several years past, was not to reform the State, nor to gain some particular privileges for their Catholic brethren. They aimed at the entire overthrow, not merely any imagined improvement, of the existing Constitution. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Buckinghamshire declared, that, “ in 1792, *Tone* published in favour of independence, and separation of Ireland from England. In the same year, Edward Byrne, an eminent Roman Catholic priest, issued letters to the several parish priests of Ireland, directing that delegates should be elected by their several parishes to sit in a Roman Catholic Convention; his letters stated, that ‘serving on juries and the elective franchise were the objects to be discussed by the Convention.’ It accordingly assembled in that year: and it most

certainly was the organ for expressing the then *real* objects of the Roman Catholics. It affirmed, that 'the objects of their pursuit were merely admission to the bar, county magistracies, serving on juries, and voting for members of Parliament, out of freeholds of 20*l.* per annum : ' but no resolutions of this Convention, in any respect, related to the *real* objects of the conspiracy at that time formed for the rebellion which took place in 1798 ; nor did they include any claim to the great offices of the State, or Parliamentary representation. The equivocal expression of ' Catholic Emancipation ' was not adopted therein. Those could not have been real ingredients in the plan of insurrection then formed, nor were they in any respect consistent with the nature of that plan, which proposed, not merely to *alter* the Constitution, but to *form an entirely new one*.

" During some successive years, various Petitions were presented to the Irish House of Commons in Ireland, for a removal of some of the incapacities under which the Catholics laboured, &c., and even more than they had asked was granted. Yet, all this while, rebellion was hatching, and a traitorous correspondence was carried on with the Executive Directory of France, to procure an invasion of Ireland : and, accordingly, in December 1796, the invasion was attempted by Hoche. On the 12th of May, 1797, a report was made by the secret committee of the House of Lords of Ireland, which stated, that ' Parliamentary Reform, and Roman Catholic Emancipation, were held out by the United Irishmen as a *pretence*, and to seduce persons not apprised of their intentions.' Upon the 23d of May, 1798, the first rebellion broke out ; neither the proclamation which had been prepared by the Sheares's to be issued upon the breaking out of the rebellion, nor the other transactions preceding or accompanying that event, point out the want of Roman Catholic representation, or of the right to hold every species of office, as grievances which the rebellion was calculated to redress. Thus, at the first formation of the plan of rebellion, the Roman Catholics had not made the claims which are now brought forward ; and, at the final execution of that plan, the Roman Catholic claims were not in the contempla-

tion of the conspirators : in the intermediate steps, they were used merely as *pretexts*. In the month of August 1798, a report of the committee of the House of Lords of Ireland stated, that M'Nevin on his examination said, ' It was not intended to have any religious Establishment, and that the mass of the people in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, did not care for *reform*, or *Catholic representation*.' Those were the principal Roman Catholic provinces. On the 23d of July 1803, the last rebellion broke out ; and it was formed on the same principles as the preceding one.

" Adverting, then, to the before-mentioned chain of facts, and to the several reports made by the Committees of the Houses of Parliament of Ireland in 1793, 1797, and 1798, it appears, that the real objects which the two rebellions sought to attain, were *the annihilation of tithes ; the lowering of rents ; an equal distribution of property ; the leveling all the ranks and orders of the State ; separation of Ireland from England ; the destruction of the monarchy ; and the establishment of a democracy*, on the principles of the late French republic. The Roman Catholic claims were not objects sought by the two rebellions ; and had those claims been formerly ceded, they would not have prevented those rebellions : nay, were they to be now conceded, every motive which led to those rebellions would still exist, to conduce to further rebellion. Few of those who were embarked in these commotions had any interest in establishing the Roman Catholic claims. A pamphlet, published by a late respectable Roman Catholic nobleman, suggested, that *the mass* of the people could be little benefited, by the adoption of such a measure as that which is now proposed, they being already capable of every thing which their situations could entitle them to, and that probably not more than ten on the part of Ireland could sit in the House of Commons of the united empire, one in the House of Peers, nor more than forty or fifty be candidates for offices of rank, trust, or emolument. Thus the numbers to be gratified by an immediate gift are so few, that the *conciliation* to be attained must be equally *circum-*

scribed—there being *few* capacitated to be candidates, the withholding the objects claimed is felt by *few*—there are *few* to complain of injury—*few* to acknowledge and be thankful for favours conferred. Hence a *concession* productive at this day of *small conciliation* of the *Roman Catholics*, of *great dissatisfaction* on the part of the *Protestants*, might lay a foundation, when the political importance of the Roman Catholic body became more considerable, for hazarding the safety of the State, and exposing it to the persevering efforts of unremitted zeal, guided by one common principle, and one all-ruling influence.

“It may be imagined by some, that, though the mass of the Roman Catholics have no interest in the objects claimed, it may be proper to concede them, in order to win over those persons of rank and property, who have the power of influencing the great body of the Roman Catholics. To this I answer, the lower orders have been influenced, not by the *respectable members* of the same religious persuasion (who have an interest in the claims now set up), but by *factionous demagogues* of various persuasions, who aimed at *rebellion*, not at *reform*, or *Catholic claims*, and would have been equally active in disseminating *rebellion*, if any concession had been made short of *annihilating the monarchy*. It cannot be expected, that the mass of the *lower orders* of the Roman Catholics, should cease to be actuated by those interested motives, which have heretofore influenced their conduct, because of a *concession* being made to some of the *higher orders*, of privileges not to be enjoyed by the bulk of the people; in which they have no interest, and by which their conduct has not heretofore been guided.

“Again—It has been argued, that the influence which the measure under consideration would confer, at present, *must* be small, probably *never can* be great, and therefore there cannot be *any* danger; or if any, it must be *remote*. In the reign of James II. both Houses of Parliament were Protestant, yet the other branch of the Legislature was near succeeding against

them both, in the establishment of Popery. James II. professed to intend for the Roman Catholics ‘only an equality of privileges;’ that equality would have occasioned *the downfall of the Protestant religion*: it was therefore *resisted*. The resistance was ultimately successful; but the danger having approached too near, the success of the resistance was attended with difficulty and hazard. The fluctuation of property, in a commercial country, and of the relative numbers composing the several sects, connected with the known perseverance of the Roman Catholic body, renders it unsafe to trust to their not being able *futurely* to do injury, because at the *present* day they are unable, not being possessed of sufficient political weight and influence. But, their unremitting zeal in pursuit of this authority, their *implicit submission* to one ruling and *foreign* power, to the exclusion of the supreme authority of the State, their being all governed by one common principle, and firmly linked together by one general rule of action, render it most unwise to entrust them with power, upon a supposition that, because it might, at the commencement, be *inconsiderable*, it could not hereafter be rendered *dangerously great*. Sixty-four of the Irish members of the House of Commons sit for counties, and many of the other thirty-six for open boroughs.* The priests must have considerable weight in influencing the elections, between Protestant and Roman Catholic candidates; and, were Roman Catholics eligible to Parliament, probably, at a period not very remote, the representation on the part of Ireland would be completely Roman Catholic. That body of men would enjoy a great part of the Irish patronage. Who can measure the influence of a body of men so constituted? Who can foretel what they might effect by a junction, at a critical moment, with *other bodies of men*, standing in need of their assistance, and ready to make them a proportionate return of favour and support?”

* See the admirable tract, “Catholic Emancipation,” second edition, 1812, p. 32. J. J. Stockdale.

I go on now to consider another plea which was advanced in the House of Lords, in favour of the Catholics, namely, that "by granting the prayer of the Petition, Parliament would at once remove all pretext for disturbance, and they would at once become an united and a happy people." "Herein," said one of the members, (the Earl of Buckinghamshire, if I remember rightly,) "I differ entirely from the noble Lord. I most solemnly declare, I do not think that by giving what is asked, to the fullest extent, you will advance one single step towards the tranquillization of Ireland. His Lordship will not, I am sure, contend, that it is necessary to bribe the Catholic noblemen and gentlemen into loyalty; and as to the common people, I am persuaded it would not gain over a single person, now tainted with disloyalty, and ready, at a moment, to join a French invader. No, my Lords, seats in Parliament, and admission to the highest offices in the State, form no part of the wishes of the Irish peasantry. Were you to talk to them on the subject, they would not understand you. If you wish to conciliate those now inclined to join the French, I will tell you what you must do. You are the best judges whether you are willing to pay so high a price for their allegiance. Are you ready to sacrifice the national Church, by giving up the means that support it? Are you ready to sink your revenue, by giving up all taxes upon spirituous liquors? And, last of all, are you ready to sacrifice the whole Protestant and respectable Catholic property of the country, by the abolition of rents, and the perpetual grant of their farms, to the present occupants? Such are the terms, I know, have been lately offered to the Irish peasantry by French emissaries, and if you mean to bid against them with any chance of success, you must not be outdone in the magnificence of your offers."

"But to proceed with this favourite argument of *conciliation*, and it is almost the only one offered. If it be still urged, that this measure will give *content*, and that the Catholics will rest satisfied, you are totally mistaken," said Mr. Foster, when addressing the House of Commons. "Let us judge

of their *future*, by looking at their *past*, conduct. In 1778, the Irish Parliament removed some of the then existing restraints: *content* was to be the consequence; but *they were not satisfied*. In 1782, greater indulgence was granted; in 1792 they petitioned for further favours; and, in 1793, much more was given to them than even they asked. I did not agree in that gift: I did not think that political wisdom justified our going so far; but a contrary opinion prevailed; the measure was carried, and I wish it to be at rest for ever. I feared, at the time, that it would lead to new and further inadmissible demands; and *that fear* was too well founded; for two years did not elapse ere, in 1795, they again came forward with the same object as they do now: and do you think, that if you now acquiesce, they will rest here? I am sorry to say, the nature of man will not allow us to indulge such a hope, while his pursuit is *power, honour, and riches*. No, they will not stop on this concession. We all know they look, with jealousy, to their *tithe* being paid to the *Protestant*, to uphold his Church. The interested feelings of their Clergy, whose influence over the minds of their flock is peculiarly powerful in the Catholic worship, will urge them to continual exertion for a *restoration* of those tithes. Possessed of *them*, *they would not rest*; even *equality* in religion would not satisfy; they would look to the weight of *numbers*, which their advocates so often dwell on, that the religion of the *greater number* ought to be the religion of the State. In short, they would look, in the end, to raise the *Catholic Church* in Ireland, on the ruins of the *Protestant*. Such will be the natural result of giving them *political power*, and they would laugh hereafter at our folly, were we to make the concession. *Power* always has been, and still is, so prevalent in their views, that they have connected it, in every attempt, with every other object. *Reform* and *emancipation* have gone together, in the whole of their progress. These two watch-words of discontent were coupled together, in all their proceedings, until the Union accomplished one of them, the *reform*, which otherwise they might have pursued for ages without effect.

" Suppose now, for a moment, that they acquire a power of *sitting in Parliament*, by the vote of this night—would it be a strange conjecture, that they would soon feel that their small number, if it were fifty or sixty, or even the whole hundred, would be of little avail, among six hundred and fifty-eight ! that the Union had accomplished the reform they wished for, by the destruction of boroughs ; and that two hundred seats, all belonging to Protestants (for Protestants only received the compensation), had been annihilated ? Possessed, then, of this reform, and of their power of sitting, it might be natural for them to look to a *restoration* of the Irish legislature. They would see the barriers, which the wisdom of ages had erected against their having political power, broken down by this night's decision. Their exertions would rise in proportion to their hopes of success, and it would require only a revival of the Irish Parliament, to give them the consequence and superiority they long for.

" The honourable mover's doctrine, that seats in Parliament are their *right*, (qualified by him, I acknowledge, with the exception of the *salus populi suprema lex*,) would not weaken their endeavours, nor their prospects. They would consider it a right existing, but withheld from them at the time the Union was discussed, and therefore they would strive for a dissolution of that measure. They would call for three hundred members to resume their functions in an Irish Parliament ; and the two hundred seats added in the room of the one hundred Protestant boroughs, which we have demolished, would all be filled by popular elections, where *numbers*, in which their strength consists, would decide. What would not a majority, so constituted, look to ? They would see their own aggrandisement, the maintenance and dignity of their clergy, and the consequent superiority of their Church, all within their view. I will look no further into so tremendous a prospect. This result may be slow, and I believe the day of its accomplishment may be distant ; but is it the less to be guarded against ? To me the reasoning seems so strong, that I cannot shut my senses to it, nor to all the mischiefs

which must attend the attempt, and the miseries which must follow it. The seeds of *separation* would be sown, and Ireland might be torn from her connexion with Britain, without which she is and must be incapable of enjoying wealth, tranquillity, happiness, or any of the blessings of human life."

Should the prayer of the Petition, therefore, be granted, it will only be considered as a farther step to the establishment of Catholic (I will not merely say, *ascendancy*, but) *dominion*. It will only be grateful to them, as it will appear to conduce to that end ; consequently, instead of making them *contented* and *satisfied*, it will only make them the more *restless* and *turbulent*. In proportion as they see a nearer prospect of enjoying the full completion of their wishes, they will grow more impatient of delay—they will hurry more forward to the securing of their object.

It is very singular, that, in the different Petitions to Parliament, some years ago, the Whig-club, among all the grievances they complained of, said not a word of *religious* grievances. Now, is it to be believed, that the great patriots of the day should not have particularly mentioned *these*, if any such oppressed the people ? In 1791, relaxation was given the Catholics in England, in consequence of which, the Irish Catholics naturally applied. What happened ? The Irish House of Commons would not grant the claims. No—they threw the Petition off the table, twenty-three only objecting.

It is clear, then, that the great patriots of that time would not have rejected the Petition, if the state of the laws had been an *oppression* to the country. When, therefore, was the discovery made ? Why, as soon as it was discovered that the government of England wished to do every thing proper for the Catholics, then their religious grievances were made out—then these *pretended* patriots began to vociferate *—

* It has been always observable, that many of " The Opposition" have recourse to various expedients, in order to effect their pernicious purposes. They endeavour, by their

and, whatever was given, the détermination was to ask for more; so the more we grant, the more will be demanded, till we have nothing more to surrender; and we ourselves, perhaps, will be obliged to become Petitioners, in our turn.

My decided opinion, therefore, is, that too many concessions have been already made to the Catholics in Ireland. I speak particularly as to the grant of what they call *the elective franchise*, in the admission into the magistracy, and on juries. It is upon those concessions that they now found their pretensions for more. If other arguments were wanting to shew the impolicy of these *concessions*, it is the manner in which they have been received. Contrary to what was professed, they have produced neither *contentment* nor *satisfaction*; they have, in fact, been considered as the fruits of a victory not yet complete—what they have gained they have received but as an earnest of what remains behind.

If this be not their view of the subject, why did not the Roman Catholics of England, immediately upon the concessions made to their brethren in Ireland, come forward and pray to be admitted to the same privileges? Why? but because the Roman Catholics in England are *few*, while in Ire-

inflammatory speeches, to rouse the people against the Government. Revenge and disappointment prompt them to forge specious falsehoods and calumnies, in order to impose upon the national credulity. They direct their popular oratory to the passions of the vulgar, and, instead of *informing*, strive to *blind* their understandings. And after they have, by the most refined artifices, worked up the multitude to believe their licentious discourses, and to countenance their seditious proceedings, they then affect to be guided by *their* judgment. They profess the highest friendship for, and seek the entire confidence of the people, but only with this view, that they may raise themselves upon *their* shoulders, to places of the most lucrative emoluments in the State. This is particularly the case at present. They who assume the name of *patriots*, are, in general, the worst enemies of their country. In every way, they exert themselves to impede and clog the wheels of Government, that they may become the *primum mobile* of the whole machine.

land they are *numerous*; because it was thought politic not to risk a defeat in the quarter which was *weak*, but to push the attack in that which was *strong*. They knew well that the one must follow the other. They acted wisely for their own ends; and we, if we are wise, though somewhat late, must act with the same vigour and concert. In Ireland little more than the citadel remains: in England we have only surrendered the outworks. Let us act accordingly. Let us not be deceived. The party by whom we are pressed have all the spirit of Cæsar,

“*Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum.*”

Should once the capability of being Chancellors, Judges, and Privy Counsellors, be conceded, can we believe they will be satisfied, unless they actually obtain the possession of those offices? Surly not; even now it is avowed that the representative franchise is sought for as a means of obtaining the nomination to the offices which they are capacitated to enjoy, and from which they complain that they still continue to be, in almost every instance, shut out.

One of the most *moderate* members in Parliament who spoke on this important subject, thus mildly delivered his thoughts. “The truth seems to be, that allowing the Catholics to be good and loyal subjects in their present situation, they have an insatiable thirst for *power*; and,

“How that might change their nature, there’s the question.”

—“Grant *power*,

And then I grant we put a sting into them
That at their will they may do danger with.”

“I cannot therefore help doubting at least, whether I should have been disposed, under such impression of still increasing claims upon every accession of favour, to have gone so far in removal of all disabilities as was done in 1793, especially in the instance of the elective franchise. It could not well be doubted by any man, who had a reasonable knowledge of human nature, and was aware of the position and views of this particular sect, that the concession here stated would be

chiefly valued as a step to the right of representation. And who can pretend to be answerable for restrictive moderation even there? Temptation, &c. may be incited by the impulse of seeming means and opportunity, and then, in course, a dormant spirit of uneasy ambition might be roused into dangerous action.

“ Then lest it may—prevent !

And if the quarrel will bear no colour for the things they are, Fashion it thus ; that what they are, augmented May run to these and these extremities, &c. &c.”

We find that nothing hitherto has *satisfied* them, neither would they be *contented* with the grant of their present request. This would only interest the mass of the people so far as might serve to pave the way for greater concessions, in which they conceive themselves to be more nearly interested. The effect, therefore, of yielding to the claims now made, would be nothing else than exciting an expectation of something much more material. Can it be believed that the views of the Catholics extend no further? They certainly look, as the ultimate consequence, to the destruction of the Established Church in Ireland, to the exaltation of their own priesthood, and to the restoration of those estates which belonged to their forefathers. It is therefore impossible to admit their claims, without annulling the Act of Union, the Act of Settlement, and all the fundamental laws on which the Constitution rests.

Can we persuade ourselves, that the Catholic Clergy have abjured the expectation of being restored to all the dignities which were possessed by their predecessors; previous to the Reformation? Have they not their primate, their archbishops, their bishops, their deans, and all the gradations which are to be found in the Established Church? And, knowing this, who will be bold enough to say, that they have relinquished all hopes of enjoying the *emoluments* appertaining to these dignities? One of their tenets is, (which any member who went into a bookseller's shop, might convince himself of,) that they are bound to pay tithes only to their *lawful*

pastors. Nay, some persons have carried the principle much farther. A Mr. M'Kenna proposed, in a treatise of much learning and ingenuity, that thirty or forty acres should be purchased in every parish in Ireland, and a house should be built on it for the Catholic clergyman. Is not that a plain indication of the extent of their hopes and prospects? No man can entertain a doubt that it is their inclination to propagate their religion by every means in their power. That is a principle inseparable from the character of every religion. Were I in a Catholic country, professing the religion I did, I should feel an inclination to advance that religion; and so it is natural to expect the Catholics will do, whenever they have an opportunity.

It is well known, that when they have been passing by our cathedrals and other churches, in Ireland, especially on the Sabbath-day, they have been frequently heard to say, in an angry, spiteful tone, “ I hope the time is not far off, when these d—d Protestants will be extirpated, and we shall be saying mass again, where our ancestors used to do.”

Hence it is evident, that those persons argue most absurdly, who plead that, in order to *reconcile* the Catholics to our Government, we must accede to their Petition. For they who maintain, as a point of faith, that the State is subject to a *foreign* jurisdiction, and is not independent, can never be reconciled to the State. Till they renounce so anarchical and degrading a tenet, they must be always *enemies* to it; and giving them *political power*, is only furnishing them with the means of overturning the Constitution.

The Rev. Richard Venn, in his debate concerning the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, thus guards us against the claims of the Dissenters; and what he says is equally, at least, (if not much more) applicable to the claims of the Roman Catholics. “ The Church of England neither *can* nor *ought* to be easy, if that Establishment, which is ratified by all the laws of God and man, be rendered *precarious* and *unsafe*. And *that* we know will be her case, in proportion as the interest of her enemies increases; who, from their principles, can

never want *will* to do, whatever their *power* shall enable them to perform. Since, therefore, from history and theory, we know what we are to expect, we should act like men infatuated, and fall unpitied, if we ever commit ourselves to their care. The more they are indulged, the more they crave; and what is reported to have been said formerly, by a great minister, of a certain friend of theirs, viz., 'that he had the *quickest digestion of any gentleman in England*,' may be applied, with too much truth, to the perpetual grasping of this people after *power*. It was the fatal policy of good King Charles's reign, to be always listening to the repeated demands of these unsatisfied men, till it appeared that they meant nothing less than the total overthrow of Church and State. Let that example be sufficient to teach us caution. We have already granted them what, *in conscience*, we ought to grant, an ample liberty of worshipping God according to their own sentiments. It is high time now, in our turn, to consider where, *in prudence*, we ought to stop. All Europe has thought it lawful to refuse accession of power, when they are morally certain what use would be made of it. If one side must be *superior*, (and, in the nature of things, both cannot long be *EQUAL*,) I hope we are not now to choose where to fix the preference."

The Papists, in all countries, ever have been, and ever will be inimical to the Protestants; but, in *Ireland*, this is more peculiarly the case; so that it is absurd, in the highest degree, to suppose that we can *conciliate* their regards, by making the *concessions* which the Petitioners now require. This is utterly impossible—for they have a particular enmity towards the Protestants there, not only as *apostate heretics*, but as *unjust usurpers*. They look with bitter jealousy on those Protestants who now occupy the lands and houses which once belonged to their progenitors. It is also matter of notoriety, that different Catholic families have preserved, from one generation to another, the titles of estates, which had been confiscated, at the time of the Revolution; and they consider the Protestant possessors as little better than lawless robbers. Maps, also, of

the Irish forfeited estates have been industriously circulated on the Continent, an indication that some important object was looked at for attainment, and that it was desirable to conciliate foreign Catholic potentates, with a view to the success of that project. Since the Union, it has been openly avowed, "that the Revolution was an *usurpation*, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from seats in Parliament an excess of the power of the Legislature, that the old Roman Catholic proprietors never had offended, that the confiscations were unjust, and that the present occupants held by *usurpation*, and ought to be dispossessed." Why? Truly to produce unanimity, cordiality, and affection between the several sectaries in Ireland. Thus, no length of time and enjoyment can sanctify title; no concurrence of circumstances can preclude re-assumption; attainders, acts of Parliament, purchases, settlements, long possession, prescription, are to be inefficient in giving title. The most solemn acts of the Legislature, and of courts of justice, done whilst the transactions were recent, and the evidence existing, which have been acted upon and enforced during successive ages; titles created under those acts, and infinitely branched out and diversified for most valuable considerations, are now, when the evidence is lost or mislaid, to be presumed unfounded, contrary to the light of history, and to that conviction which has, during ages, influenced the conduct of the Parliaments of England and Ireland, and has guided the actions of the most eminent men of those countries, and of the mass of the people. For what purpose? To overturn every thing which has been deemed solemnly sanctified and settled; to unsettle the Church, the influence and property of the Protestants, and to elevate the members of the *Roman Catholic* persuasion, upon the depression of those of the *Protestant*.

It is supposed, by some persons, that the length of time which has elapsed since making the grants of the forfeited estates, imposes insuperable difficulties in the way of Roman Catholics establishing their titles; and that, since the relaxing laws of 1778 and 1781, Roman Catholics have acquired so much property under the titles to the forfeited estates, that, in

maintaining their own rights, they must defend the titles to those estates, and also, that the Roman Catholics have solemnly disclaimed all title to them. The repeal of the Irish acts of settlement and explanation, and of the English acts of William III. and Anne, relating to forfeited estates, would annul all the Protestant titles founded on them, and expose the possessors to all the hazard, uncertainty, litigation, and expence which might be brought upon them by opposite claims, whether maintained by true or by false evidence. Dispossession and ruin would be the consequence to individuals; to the public, the result would be unsettling the property and power of the country. The estates of inheritance, acquired by Roman Catholics since the relaxing laws, are as yet inconsiderable. The religious zeal of Roman Catholics, holding leases under the forfeited titles, would induce them to think that, if the inheritances were restored to the families of the ancient proprietors, Roman Catholic tenants, assuming the merit of having aided the restitution, might be sure of having their leases confirmed, by landlords of their own persuasion. Thus neither the inheritance nor the derivative interests would protect the Protestant titles against the various incentives which might combine to defeat them. The present laws, aided by a Protestant Government and Protestant Constitution, do protect them. Any other protection would be ineffectual. Of what avail would the disclaiming of Roman Catholics be, if they acquired power to enforce their claims, when they have already, since their supposed disclaimer, (though not yet possessed of sufficient power to establish their demands,) revived their claims to the forfeited estates? How have their stating specific objects, as exclusive of all others, in various transactions of the year 1792, prevented unqualified demands in 1794, and down to the present period? If the Roman Catholics were to obtain restitution of the forfeited estates, the country would be ruined. If they failed as to *that* their main object, *conciliation* would not be the result of *concession*. This country never can, consistently with any principle of policy or common sense, give way to the claim of *restitution*. That

is a *great object* looked at as the result of *power*. Separation then of Ireland from Great Britain would, whilst any expectation was entertained of procuring *restitution*, be the only means of obtaining an object otherwise unattainable. That expectation must be repressed, by a prompt and decided resistance, demonstrating the determination of the State to direct the whole of its force in opposition to the nefarious attempt.

Mr. Shaw, an Irish member of Parliament, addressing the Speaker, said, "I deprecate, Mr. Speaker, the remotest idea that I entertain a feeling hostile to my Catholic countrymen, or that I am not as sincerely attached to their *real interest* as any gentleman who this night supports the Petition on your table. Sir, I know, that if those *interests* had been honestly and truly consulted, that Petition would not now be under discussion. A subject of such importance, involving such a variety of interests, and exciting such warmth of feeling, would never have been brought forward at such a time as this, nor have been made an instrument to embarrass the executive power, when the completest unanimity within and without these doors is necessary to oppose the most formidable and malignant enemy that ever threatened our political existence."

In the House of Lords, also, an Irish nobleman (the Earl of Limerick) thus spoke: "I mean to confine myself merely to this part of the subject, namely, *whether this be the fittest time to bring the Petition before Parliament?* The noble Baron asserts it is, and at the same time declares, that he esteems the moments he presented it, and argued on its merits, as the happiest of his life. I differ here from the noble Lord; our opinions are far as the poles asunder. What, my Lords, this the fittest time to agitate a question which rouses every passion, and calls into action every civil and religious prejudice; this the fittest time, when the United Kingdom is assailed on all sides by the most formidable enemies, and when, at the moment that I am speaking, French emissaries are traversing Ireland in every direction, announcing an immediate invasion of that island, and promising to those who shall join

them the establishment of their religion, and the property of those lands which they now hold as farmers?"

How, then, are we to counteract the machinations both of our internal and external foes? It can only be done by the most peremptory refusal of the Catholic claims. If, in this point, we are unalterably firm and resolute, the Catholics may become more peaceable and friendly; but, if they find us wavering and irresolute, this will fill them with hopes that they may yet prevail; and, consequently, they will be the more urgent, refractory, and rebellious. Persons who have lost their sight or their limbs, become, after a while, reconciled to the loss; and even long confinement in a prison, where no expectation of release is afforded, is at last borne with a good degree of patience. But if, by importunate application for deliverance, they are led to think they shall obtain it, they will then grow impatient, clamorous and troublesome; and though you may endeavour to alleviate their sufferings, by several acts of kindness, yet, if you do not set them at full liberty, they will neither be reconciled to you, nor to their situation.

In this light the Honorable Mr. Foster seemed to view the motion for "Catholic Emancipation;" and, therefore, when reasoning with those who made and supported the motion, and urged that the *reconciliation* of Ireland would be the happy consequence of granting the Emancipation, he addressed them thus—"When you talk of *conciliating* Ireland, you have forgotten to tell us where the *discontent* is. I know the country well, and I do not see it any where. If any gentleman has seen it (and there are Irish representatives present from all parts) I wish he would get up and state it. No—Ireland is *content*, if you will not agitate her with ill-timed discussions; and I will venture to say, that the rejection of this demand to-night will not cause a *discontented* thought, except in those *very few*, whose ambition has been buoyed up by the vain and selfish hopes of power, and personal influence."

Here Mr. Foster alludes particularly to the Petitioners. I shall therefore take notice of one argument which has been

used, in favour of them, but which, in my opinion, operates directly against them. It has been said, that Ireland will be lost to us, if the Catholic claims be not granted. Am I then to understand, that they will desert their duty, and refuse to defend their country, if their wishes be not gratified? Does, then, their allegiance sit so loose upon them? But I cannot think that any such consequence would follow; and I hope they have a deeper sense of their duty. If, however, their advocates continue to assert, that Ireland will be lost, if their claims be rejected, I must insist upon it, that they whose allegiance is so easily perverted, are the last men in the world to be entrusted with any political power.

It has been suggested, also, that the adoption of the measures proposed would settle all differences, and produce a cordial union of all parties. If this were to be the case, I myself would be one of its warmest defenders; but I have no hopes whatever of its being attended with such beneficial effects. On the contrary, I am persuaded it would be the foundation of perpetual party disputes—a focus of inflammable matter, and the more dangerous, because the lowest, as well as the highest classes, would be involved in the general ferment: and both Catholics and Protestants, having separate interests, that spirit of rivalry and jealousy which unfortunately subsists between them, would be greatly increased. Let us only advert to the resolutions which were lately passed in Galway and other counties, not to elect any person a member of Parliament, who would not promise to vote for Catholic Emancipation—then I ask, what would the Catholics think of the Protestants, if they were to come to counter resolutions, and determine to elect none who would not promise to pursue an opposite line of conduct? What a scene of confusion, riot, and bloodshed, might this occasion!

If, then, this would, in all likelihood, be the case, how can any true Protestant be accessory in promoting it, by coinciding with the Catholic projects? Sir William Scott lately spoke very feelingly in the House upon this point. "That the question should be so often brought forward, was to

him a matter of most serious concern. The repeated debates about it only roused the turbulent passions, and kept the public mind in a constant ferment. It was a question fraught with danger to the nation; one which hazarded setting fire to the country. If there appeared any probability of the parties coming to an agreement, he could see the propriety of this course; but after the repeated determinations of the House on the subject, one of them not many weeks old, how could it be expected that the decision should now be different? He had heard it said that this thing *must* be done,—that the danger of refusal was so great, that it *must not* be encountered. The answer to this was, that Parliament had said *it should not be done*; and what, therefore, could be the object of perpetually agitating this question, but to keep up a perpetual war between the Petitioners and the Legislature—between the Catholics and the Protestants? It had been admitted, by those who were competent to speak to the point, that neither in Ireland, nor in this country, was the public mind made up to the granting of these privileges, and they could not be granted without causing a convulsion. He should venture to refer it to any man's observation, that the public mind had not altered on the subject."

It has been indeed alleged, that some petitions have been presented to Parliament, signed by Protestants, in favour of the Irish Catholics. But every one must know, what an easy matter it is to obtain signatures to any paper, for almost any purpose, at the request of respectable gentlemen. It is certain also, that an unwillingness to disoblige or offend, in some—that the motives of self-interest, in others—and, particularly, that the fear (in a case like the present) lest a man's life or property might be endangered by refusal, operate very strongly in producing compliance. Hence, it was positively asserted in Parliament, that many of the Protestant shop-keepers were induced to sign the petitions, being threatened with the loss of their customers—and that, in some instances, farmers were compelled to put down their names, as they were told, by those

emissaries who carried about the petitions, that otherwise their houses and goods would be set on fire.

The following circumstance seems to claim particular attention. "At a meeting," lately, "of the Committee of the Roman Catholics, of the county and city of Cork," it was "resolved, that in the Resolutions adopted by the noblemen and gentlemen, assembled at the Thatched House in London, on the 2nd instant, Earl Fitzwilliam in the chair, we view a grateful precedent of sound reason and liberal policy, which taught them, and will, we trust, demonstrate to every land-proprietor in this kingdom, that *the firmest bulwark of private interest, is, the removal of public grievances.*" Now, is not this a plain intimation, in other words, that if the Protestant owners of land in Ireland, do not exert themselves to remove the "public grievances," of which the Catholics complain, their own "private interest" will be endangered, and even their lives and estates be insecure? I am well persuaded, therefore, that in countenancing the Catholic cause, many of the wealthy Irish Protestants have been only actuated by the fear, of losing their temporal possessions. In these times of general commotion and revolution, they know not what convulsions may take place in Ireland; and therefore they think their safest plan is, to favour those who, by their superior numbers, and incessant perseverance, may yet prove the stronger party, and by whom *they* may be favoured, in return.

But, unquestionably, the voice of the people, in both countries, is decidedly against the Catholics. In several of the counties of Ireland, the Petitions have been universally condemned; and, though some of the Presbyterian ministers did sign them, yet, in consequence of it, they were turned out of their meeting-houses, the doors locked up, and themselves excluded for ever.

Returning now to the topic of *conciliation* so much insisted on, "If, by that expression, is meant the *giving satisfaction*, why" (said Mr. Foster to his fellow-members) "do you look to the *Catholics* only, and forget that there is a million of *Protestants*? Will *they* be *satisfied*, by your breaking down the

barriers which *secure their protection*? Remember that you have settled us in Ireland, *under the faith of that protection*—that on *that faith*, we claim, as our inheritance, all the blessings of that glorious Constitution, which *our* ancestors and *yours* have fought and bled for—the Hanover succession; the illustrious House of Brunswick on the throne; a Protestant King, with Protestant Counsellors; Protestant Lords, and Protestant Commons. This is what I call *Protestant ascendancy*, in the true sense of the phrase, and while I can utter my voice in this House, I will ever demand it for my country.

“If, then, by granting this Petition, you *endanger*, or even *alarm* the Protestants, instead of *satisfaction*, *dissatisfaction* must be the result of the measure. And among whom? among those, who are, and ever have been, loyal both to Church and State, and who swear allegiance to both, which those whom you desire to admit as legislators decline. Who, then, does not see the futility of the only argument dwelt upon, in behalf of the Catholic claims?”

We should always bear in mind, that there are *two descriptions* of persons in Ireland; and then ask ourselves, will the *Protestants* there be *pleased*, that the Union which they carried into effect should be dissolved? Will they who preserved that country to this, be *satisfied* at the thought of its being dissevered? “It seems” (said a member in the Upper House) as if noble Lords had forgotten such people existed; I have not heard mention of them from any one of them; a people by whose loyalty and courage, in a situation unparalleled, that kingdom was secured; whose conduct was never equalled by any description of men in any country. Why, then, what must done? I say, ‘Let the Union alone’—let it work, as it has begun, the settlement of that country, and let not the operations of that great measure be impeded, by bringing the Catholics forward at an unfit season, to be made the tool and sport of British factions.”

Let us only consider what would be the *alienating* operation of the repeal of the fifth article of the Union? Is it not

greatly to be feared that the effect of it would be to destroy that tranquillity which many profess they are so anxious to maintain?

But the fact is, that, with some of them, their kind solicitude is only apparent. I am persuaded there are men desperate enough to set at nought a general convulsion, if they can but worry a minister, by bringing forward a subject, in the discussion of which they conceive he may be embarrassed, and the measures of Government impeded, by the obstacles which they are so mischievous as to throw in the way. The conviction of this made a nobleman, who is a native of Ireland, and a *true patriot*, thus pathetically exclaim, in the House of Lords—“Why is our country to be made the arena on which contending parties are to wage war against each other? Oh, my unfortunate country! are you never to be at rest? I conjure the agitators of this measure to reflect ere it be too late: stir not a fire that is smothered but not extinguished; the slightest spark may kindle into a blaze. Is it not sufficient that, in the short space of fifteen years, my poor country has been racked by conspiracies, disgraced by every crime contained in the roll of human wickedness, affrighted by invasions, and shaken to the very centre by civil and religious distractions? Is it not enough that we have sacrificed our pride as an independent nation, and our importance and influence as individuals, to procure, if possible, for our distracted land the blessings of peace and security? We embraced a Union to protect us from ourselves; make not what we considered and hoped would prove a measure of *safety*, make it not, I say, a measure of *mischief* and *disquiet*.”

Let it be well remembered, that, to *conciliation* and *unanimity* there must be *two parties*—the Roman Catholics, and *all the Protestants of the entire empire*; and their mutual concurrence will scarcely be obtained, by holding out to the Roman Catholics the possibility that, by unwearied exertions on their part, their *laity* may be restored to the *forfeited lay property*, their *Ecclesiastics* to the *Church lands*, the *supremacy of the Pope* be established, and a Roman Catholic as-

cendency be substituted, in the place of the Protestant ascendancy, and by conveying to the Protestants the idea that whatsoever the Roman Catholics *gain*, the Protestants must *lose*.

In many places now, though Protestants have the chief administration of the law, they are scarcely safe; and, surely, their situation must be far more dangerous, if they should be divested of the power they now enjoy, or be even obliged to act, as magistrates, in conjunction with bigoted and domineering Catholics. At best, both parties must be uncomfortable, because there can be no cordiality or agreement between them.

In such a posture of affairs, therefore, a compliance with the Petition would be the worst thing which could befall the Roman Catholics, as well as ourselves. The immediate effect of it would be, to revive that detestable rancour between both, which for so many years has been the disgrace of the western Church, but is dying away if we only let alone what is well.

There is already too much cause for *discontent*. If the Protestants are even now *uneasy*, how much greater will be their *alarm* and *consternation*, should the Catholics, who are above double their number, gain an accession of civil power and authority? "In a very large portion of Ireland, at this day, (said Lord Redesdale,) there could hardly be said to exist such a person as a Protestant day-labourer. No one of that persuasion could expect to be otherwise than miserably treated by all his neighbours, who were Catholics. It was true he had the sanction of the law for his profession; but, in Ireland, the laws were not enforced as they ought to be; there were many and deplorable defects in that particular; and they were chiefly owing to the power and influence of the Catholic hierarchy. It was the interest of that hierarchy (and they pursued that interest) to create a spirit of animosity in the people of Ireland against the Protestants; the consequence was, that there existed among the mass of the people of Ireland, who were such Catholics as he had stated, a general hatred against the English name; and an English

government and tyranny, or an Englishman and an heretic, were with them synonymous terms; so that it was impossible, consistently with the safety of the Protestants of Ireland, to grant the prayer of this Petition. He would venture to say, that if the prayer of this Petition were granted, the result would be, that, except in part of the North of Ireland, and perhaps the Capital of that country, no Protestant would dare to live in it. This he had from information which could not be doubted; for a reverend prelate had told him, that he could not keep one Protestant servant, and much of this came under his own view. He knew that none of the Protestant inhabitants of Dublin, who were parents, could get their children into the service of any considerable family, so that they were obliged to apprentice them out to handicrafts. Such was the disposition of the Catholics, for whom this extraordinary indulgence was now asked, that none of the Protestant children could find employment in the service of any considerable family in Dublin, and this was the case generally all over Ireland. He considered that the proposed measure of what was called relief to the Catholics, was so far from being likely to *conciliate* the people of Ireland, that it would have the effect, if agreed to, of driving out of Ireland all the Protestants; for until the present hierarchy of Ireland should be in possession of all the ecclesiastical revenues there, it was not to be supposed that they would be *contented*; and having gone so far in asking, if they were successful, it was not to be supposed that they would not go further."

No, certainly—I solemnly believe that their views and their expectations have no bounds. I speak of them in general, subject to such exceptions as every man will make. And I appeal to the history of past years, to the spirit of their religion, and to the experience which we have had of its operations.

Much indeed has been said, of *strengthening* the empire, by *conciliating the Catholics*; but much more might be said with justice, of *weakening* the empire, if not *dismembering* it, by *grieving and offending the Protestants*. For a short time, per-

haps, Ireland might be tranquillized; but that *calm* would be followed by a *tempest* of the most dreadful violence. The more was given, the more would be required. The Catholics would aspire still higher, and Ireland would present a miserable scene of unrestrained struggle for power between the Catholics and the Protestants, ending in the ruin of numbers of both parties.

To prevent this dreadful catastrophe, let us attend to the opinion of a very sensible member of Parliament upon this head. "Well convinced (says he) that, at this period, it would plunge that country into confusion, I am decidedly against it. I should be glad to ask, if it is likely to tend to the pacification of a country, composed of two very different sorts of people, the one possessed of the property, and the magistracy, few in number, contending and protecting themselves against the more numerous class, to open every situation as a scene of contest? I consider the first operation of this measure to be, to make Ireland a scene of confusion, corruption, and riot, not only for Parliament, but for magistracy, and situations in all the towns, as described by Lucan,

Lethe lisque ambitus urbis
Annua venali referens certamina campo.

The priest at the head of his flock, leading them to every outrage, and religious bigotry carried to the utmost extent. The power of the Protestant landlords would have no effect against a religious combination.

"Next, what are the causes of the discontents in Ireland? High rents, heavy taxes, tithes, the property possessed by persons speaking a different language, of different manners and habits from the peasantry, a double Clergy, the Protestant Clergy in affluence, the Catholic in poverty. May I ask, which of the grievances will the proposed measure touch? Will it lower rents or taxes? Will it alter the state of property? Will it teach the landlords Irish, or the peasants English? Will it lower tithes? Will it make the Protestant Clergy low, and raise the Catholic priest? Probably it may,

and here is the difficulty. If this operates lightly and gently, it will not affect the mass of the country; if it operates to affect the mass, it may be to such an extent as to prove fatal to the British connexion."

Is it not of far greater consequence to England, to unite the *Protestant* part of Ireland with us, in still firmer bonds of alliance? Respect, I entreat you, the feelings of that body, ever true to their religion, faithful to their King, and enthusiastically attached to British connexion. Descended from yourselves, in fighting valiantly their own battles, they have served your interests; and have prevented, by their exertions, that fair and beautiful island from being torn from the British empire. In seeking *new* friends, whom you are never likely to conciliate, neglect not your *old* ones, but remain firm to those who have, in the worst of times, remained firm to you.

They well know the consequences of the concession required, and, trembling for the issue, are almost all adverse to it. Have, then, *their feelings* been consulted? Have *their opinions* been taken? Can you possibly make them believe, that they shall be more or equally secure with Romish representatives, Romish magistrates, and Romish members of the Cabinet? Is it of no moment that such favours shewn to the opposite party may fill them with *disgust* and *apprehension*? That they may be driven into *disaffection*; that their *zeal* may abate? Or that they may be induced to take irregular means for the warding off of the danger, which they may imagine they see coming upon them, and not without reason?

I trust, indeed, that, under all circumstances, they would continue *loyal* and *peaceable*; I trust it the more, because in them every religious sentiment cooperates with their civil engagements, to keep them stedfast in their allegiance to the King, and submission to the law. Yet, when we hear one set of people demanding an attention to be paid to their feelings, I think it but natural and just, that the same claim should be advanced in behalf of the other; more especially in a case where the experience of ages is all on our side; where it un-

equivocally establishes the *merits* of the latter, but deposes as strongly against the *pretensions* of the former.

Every one, then, who takes a deliberate and impartial view of this subject, must be led to conclude, that compliance with the Petitioners, instead of *tranquillizing*, will *convulse* the kingdom of Ireland—instead of *cementing the Union*, it will promote a *separation*. Let us not, therefore, be so mad, at such a moment, as even to hazard the horrors and the miseries of religious contests. To me it clearly appears, that no alternative exists between keeping the Establishment we have, and substituting a Roman Catholic Establishment in its place. If the English nation can make up their minds to that, they may *conciliate* Ireland, but not otherwise. What then is to be done? Give the Catholics plainly to understand, that political power to unsettle the State is altogether unattainable; and that the dangerous consequences of pursuing projects of innovation, in violation of the law, and in opposition to the Protestants of the empire, neither *can* nor *will* be risked. Let no countenance whatever be given to their hopes, that the obscurity, which for the present intercepts their views, may at some favourable crisis clear off, and be removed. Let them be told, that the concessions they now seek may prove fatal to themselves, by tempting them (as has hitherto been the case) into struggles for ascendancy, which must necessarily lead Government to abridge, or totally deprive them of, the privileges they now enjoy.

Assuredly, the best mode of preventing disturbance, and of promoting union, (objects which the Petitioners declare to be primary and paramount,) will be to keep from the Roman Catholics the *ability*, and in consequence the *will*, to restore to the Pope that supremacy of which he has been deprived. For as long as they have a hope, that, by the preponderance which they may regain in Ireland, (and which they now appear to be confident of attaining,) they have a way opened to them of restoring the dominion to their Church, they are not likely to be peaceable subjects, nor cordially attached to their Govern-

ment. On the contrary, their attachment to Rome will be fed by their *hopes*, and it is only by cutting off those hopes, that we can bring them to fix their views at home, and seriously to consult what the Constitution has declared, and which I firmly believe, to be the true interest of the State, and of the Petitioners themselves.

Perhaps this can never actually take place, so long as they continue in the least degree to acknowledge the *supremacy* of the Pope; but certainly the less of probability they see of establishing that supremacy in these kingdoms, the less will their mind be occupied by it. If they could be brought to dismiss all expectations of it, we might then have a reasonable prospect of seeing them united to us, not only in allegiance to their Sovereign, but in religious faith. Once cut off from the See of Rome, I am persuaded that they could not long persist in the schism which separates them from the national Church. And this is, indeed, what the Popes themselves have shewn to be their opinion; for it should never be forgotten that, during the early period of the Reformation, and for the first nine or ten years of the reign of Elizabeth, the Roman Catholics went to our churches, and joined in our service.*

About forty-five years ago, an apologist for the Roman Catholics dropped a broad hint, that they will never quit the hope, that some Pretender may be raised up, to extricate them from their distresses, and to reinstate them in their lost civil and religious rights, which they imagine we have unlawfully usurped.—“Hope,” says he, “*how vain soever*, is the last smiling solace that quits a man, before he resigns his breath. As a balsam to his woes, he will figure to himself that the hand which was the cause of his being depressed, might again be instrumental towards lifting him up: so that a Pretender will never be wanting to those who chuse to create one, though every one of the House of *Stuart* was as extinct in life, as in

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law, to the people of *Great Britain and Ireland*." *Justif. Piece*, p. 186, 187.

Hence, by the confession of this Popish writer, it appears, that the British and Irish Catholics will never be without a *Popish Pretender*, to oppose to a *Protestant King*, whenever a likely opportunity shall present itself, for attempting to recover their lost dominion. But I trust, that "the hand" of Parliament, "which has been the cause of their being depressed," will "never again be instrumental towards lifting them up,"

ut will rather shew them that their *hope is vain*. And I also trust, that the well-meaning Catholics of Ireland will see and be convinced, that the sense of Parliament is pronounced *against* their application, upon grounds of immutable truth and reason, but at the same time, with all that good-will and affection which ought to prevail between subjects of the same Sovereign.

SECTION X.

The Catholics have not been a peaceable and loyal People, since the Revolution; but, turbulent, refractory, and rebellious, continually plotting against the Establishment, and frequently embruing their hands in the blood of inoffensive Protestants.

In justification of their claims, even pleas of *merit* in the modern race of Romish subjects, have been advanced; and first, that they have conducted themselves *peaceably* and *loyally*, ever since the Revolution, though under the pressure of rigorous, impoverishing, and disqualifying statutes. This subject deserves consideration. When the Romish scheme of subverting the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, under the conduct, patronage, and influence of the bigoted

monarch who then swayed the British sceptre, was completely overturned by the spirit of the nation, (raised and directed by the renowned William III.) the political power and consequence of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain were annihilated; and, in Ireland, brought to a very low ebb, on account of the obstinate resistance of the Irish Papists. In *England*, their *dwarfish* number, compared with the *gigantic multitude* of Protestants, ensured the political impotence of the sect: but the case was different in *Ireland*; for the Papists there much exceeded the other subjects in number (though not in the magnified ratio stated in their own inflated accounts), which prevented their sinking into national imbecility. Their decisive defeat, however, at that period, greatly reduced their political weight; and, though fallen to the earth in both kingdoms, yet their reiterated conspiracies and rebellions induced the State to guard against their acquisition of new strength, Antæus like, after their fall.* Hence sprang the system of what are called Popery-laws, in both countries, enacted since

* To give a circumstantial detail of the disturbances this unquiet spirit of Popery has given to our Civil Government, from the Revolution to the present times, would carry me to a tedious and a needless prolixity. Large extracts in proof of this perpetual agitation in bigoted minds, like the troubled sea which cannot rest, might be given from our domestic histories, and to these I must refer such as desire to have a more particular account.

The defeat of the more open efforts of Popery to overturn our Constitution, namely, the suppression of the rebellion in 1746, kept the Roman Catholics for a while in a state of apparent acquiescence. It was necessary, upon such an event, to conceal their sense of that disappointment, that they might not too much exasperate their loyal fellow-subjects, as yet full of a generous resentment for this instance of Popish ingratitude to one of the best of Princes. Yet even, during this seemingly pacific interval, Popish industry was secretly busy in preparing a mine, against the time when a new succession of men (who, for want of experience, and unapprised of the genius and spirit of Popery, might be less vigilant over the precious deposit of civil and religious liberty) should give these dark working engineers an opportunity to spring it.

the Revolution; and which never would have been enacted, had there not been urgent necessity. And yet these laws, by Popish writers, and the supporters of Popery throughout the empire, are represented as *oppressive* and *unjust*; and as the causes of the notorious disaffection of the Romanists to the State, and of their different conspiracies, massacres, and rebellions. But, this is a gross *misrepresentation*; for that part of the code particularly complained of as *unjust* and *oppressive*, was enacted in the reigns of William and Anne, *after* their conspiracies, massacres, and rebellions had been plotted and executed; and therefore was the *effect*, and not the *cause*, of their notorious disaffection and treasons. And these laws could not have been the causes of the *late* rebellions and massacres in Ireland, for they had been all previously repealed.

These wise laws (for wise and provident they were, notwithstanding the false and clamorous declamations against them) prohibited Romanists from the *acquisition of landed property, political influence, and power, in both countries*; and thereby disabled them, in a great measure, from disturbing the State, in conformity with their avowed principles. Whilst these laws remained *unrepealed*, the Romanists were more *peaceable* subjects than they *now are*, because it was not in their power to be otherwise. The *maniac* in a strait waistcoat, or the *tiger* in a cage, can do no mischief; yet deserve no *commendation* for their *gentleness*. The British ministry, however, influenced by active and able Romish agents, and imposed upon by the grossest falsehoods and misstatements (which have had a powerful effect on them, from their own absolute ignorance of the true state of Ireland), have, for these last twenty years and upwards, exerted all their influence in the Irish Parliament to procure the *repeal* of these laws, session after session, and have, in a great measure, succeeded; though they have not yet procured the repeal of the Popery-code in England, in the same degree. In this respect, they treated the Irish nation in the way that condemned malefactors have been sometimes treated, on whom dangerous experiments in physic and surgery have been tried before their general application is sanctioned to the pub-

lic. The English ministry, not content, in the year 1793, with procuring a bill to pass in the Irish Parliament, for repealing all the laws which disabled Romanists to vote at elections of members of Parliament, prefaced the bill with an assertion that the conduct of the Romanists had been *loyal*. Whoever will take the trouble of turning to the Irish acts of the 19th of George II. of the 29th of George II. and to all the acts passed in Ireland for twenty years preceding the year 1793, (for the suppression of the petty rebellions of the Whiteboys and defenders, all Romanists, who have from time to time infested and desolated several parts of Ireland, committing the most atrocious acts of treason,) will be clearly convinced that the Irish Romanists have no claim whatever to the character of *loyal subjects*, from the time of the Revolution to the era of their late rebellion.

But supposing it were admitted, for argument's sake, that Romanists have been generally *peaceable* subjects, from the Revolution till a few years before the breaking out of the late rebellion, (*loyal* it cannot be pretended that they were, their avowed principle of the subjection of the nation to a foreign yoke being *disloyal*); they can derive no *merit* from such *peaceable* demeanour. The Popery-code rendered their submission to the laws a matter of necessity; they were *peaceable* because they were *disabled*, in a great measure, from exerting their avowed hostility to the Constitution, by the efficacy of the Popery-code; and nothing more clearly demonstrates the truth of this conclusion than this fact, which cannot be denied, that they have advanced, in their march of sedition and treason, at the same rate of progression, as the English ministry proceeded in Ireland with the *repeal* of the Popery-code; and they broke out into open rebellion, and commenced a massacre of the Protestants of Ireland, very shortly after a great part of that code was repealed, and they were admitted to an equality of civil privileges with Protestants,—the capacity of sitting in Parliament, and enjoying some great civil offices, excepted.

Can any circumstance carry a more decisive proof of the

wisdom of the Popery-code, and of the folly of repealing it, than the actual consequence of that repeal just mentioned? And can any thing be more clear than the insufficiency of the claim of merit among Romanists, on the score of their *peaceable* and *loyal* conduct since the Revolution? Loyalty certainly they never had the slightest claim to; their avowed religious principles are *disloyal*. To *peaceable* conduct their claim is also ill-founded in general; and where it has any foundation, it entitles them not to the gratitude of the State, because it was not the effect of *choice*, but of *imbecility*; and *that* the effect of the wise system of laws, the repealed Popery-code.

It may not be here improper to quote a passage out of the speech of the late Earl of Chesterfield, at the opening of the Irish Parliament in the year 1745, he being then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to shew the opinion entertained by that able statesman, and the Government he then served, of the Popery-laws:—"The measures (said he) that have been hitherto taken to prevent the growth of Popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater effect; however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of Papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence on civil society did not both require and authorize, restraint."

It is, indeed, to be lamented, that this restraint has been taken off, at least in a great measure, through the imprudent lenity of the ministry here, who were really unacquainted with the unruly spirit of the Irish Papists, and their insuperable aversion to the Protestants.

The mistaken indulgence they experienced, afforded them, however, ample encouragement to plead with the united Parliament for an equal participation with the Protestants, of all the favours which Government could bestow.

Hence the Petitioners inform the honourable House, "That twenty-six years have now elapsed since their most gracious Sovereign and honourable House of Parliament in Ireland,

by their public and deliberate act, declared, that from the uniform peaceable behaviour of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the disabilities and incapacities under which they laboured."

But, if the preamble of an act of Parliament is to have weight, what shall we say to the preambles of so many acts, which give a *totally different* account of the Roman Catholics? Shall I refer to so many speeches of the Lord-Lieutenants, in the reign of Geo. I. and Geo. II. which uniformly treated the Papists as the *common enemy*? What shall we say to the *late* Reports of the Committee of both Houses of Parliament in Ireland? To the extraordinary measures which have been taken for the security of the country, since the very making of the above declaration? Nay, must we forget that the very year after passing that act of Parliament, a *special statute* was obliged to be passed, for the punishment of certain disorders, (houghing of cattle, &c.) notoriously committed by bodies of Roman Catholics? And here I cannot but remind the reader of certain facts and dates. The concessions in 1773 were immediately followed by the act called the Chalking Act, against certain offences, and certain highly criminal and cruel practices, then very prevalent. Those of 1778 had a similar concomitant. The concessions of 1782 are marked by the outrages of the White-Boys. And when, at last, in 1792, not only all disabilities were removed, but the Romanists were admitted to the elective franchise, and certain subordinate offices, we find them immediately afterwards engaged in a most extensive and atrocious conspiracy, which finally produced the unnatural and bloody *rebellion* of 1798.—Such were the effects which attended every conciliatory measure, as it was brought forward!

But, indeed, what does all this amount to? For, to return to what is the real state of the question, do the Petitioners intend to say, do they actually assert, that the great body of the Irish Roman Catholics are loyal—that the tenets of their

religion do not tend to indispose their mind against a King, who is of a different persuasion?

In my apprehension, they have not made any such positive assertion; or if they had, I could have referred to the Authentic Documents which have been published upon the subject, both in former and in modern times, respecting as well the massacre in 1641, as the atrocities in 1798. I could say, that, upon comparing the events of those two periods, the spirit which then displayed itself appears to be frightfully the same. I could say further, that, although these two periods are singled out as being most prominent, yet the intermediate space, as well as that which preceded the year 1641, present a most shocking picture of disaffection and rebellion, of a bigotry most sanguinary and always alive.*

Let me now ask the Petitioners—Did not the Catholic Committee, about twenty years since, engage, as their agent, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a man not even of their own persuasion, who was the founder of the Society of United Irishmen, who was at the very time employed in an attempt to form a traitorous conspiracy, for the purpose of effecting a separation between Great Britain and Ireland, and who kept up a correspondence with the French government, with a view to procure its assistance to further his designs? Their connection with such a man is surely a strong *proof of disloyalty*; especially when it is considered, that, *subsequent* to the bill of 1793, wherein so many favours were conferred on them, the following resolution appeared in the publication of the proceedings of the Committee—

* The old writers are well known; and as to the latter period, it may be sufficient to refer my readers to the several reports of the Irish Houses of Parliament, to the several speeches of Lord Clare, and to Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the late Rebellion, a work which has, as far as I can judge, only proved itself authentic and correct, in proportion as it has been attacked.—See also the very able "Strictures on Mr. Plowden's attempt at History," the pamphlet entitled "Catholic Emancipation," enlarged edition, and the "Observations on the late and present state of Ireland."

"Resolved, That the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, together with a gold medal of the value of thirty guineas, bearing a suitable inscription, be presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. agent to the Committee, as a testimony of his services, and our gratitude."

Again, I ask, What good order, and *uniform peaceable behaviour* was to be seen in the rebellion of 1798, when *priests* commenced *rebel generals*, and when thousands of his Majesty's *loyal* subjects were cruelly murdered? The names of *Father Murphy* and *Roach* will not be so soon forgotten by Protestants in Ireland—the sermon of the parish priest of Bannow is not yet erased from the memory. "Brethren," said he, "you see you are victorious every where, that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you, that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and that the few of you that have fallen, was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith; that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the heretics, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true Catholic religion be established."* *Father Roach*, a rebel general, to encourage his men against his Majesty's army, pretended, and really made the poor deluded wretches believe, that "he constantly caught the bullets as they came from his Majesty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with." Without, therefore, going several years back to prove *Catholic loyalty*, let us only look at these recent events. It will be admitted that, about thirty years ago, the Roman Catholics were like a lion who had remained a long time in chains, and who was thought by many to have become so tame, that he might have his liberty with safety to all around him; but no sooner is his chain only lengthened, than he gives a proof of what he would do, if he was properly

* See the copy of the oath of Richard Grandy, sworn July 23, 1798, before his Majesty's Justices of the peace, George Ogle, Isaac Cormick, John H. Lyster, John Kennedy.

free. Many similar proofs have been given in Ireland. There was but one invasion of it during the last war, *that* conducted by Humbert, at the head of one thousand French troops. He landed in a part of the country in which the bulk of the inhabitants were Romanists, who joined him in a mass on his landing. At his first encounter with the King's troops, the greater part of a regiment of Irish militia, all Romanists, deserted to him; and those Romanists of influence or property within the districts adjacent to his quarters, joined him also. What then can induce any one to praise the *loyalty* of the Irish Romanists?

Their *peaceableness*, also, (to which I shall now revert,) has been as highly commended, by some of their partisans in Parliament, as their *loyalty*; while the Irish Government had been loudly complained of, for having endeavoured to prevent these *quiet* subjects from preparing their petitions. It is, however, rather singular, that while they thus spoke so favourable of Catholic *patience* under repeated injuries, and of their *calm*, *inoffensive* demeanour, not only their rebellions already mentioned, but recent matters of fact, flatly contradict such a statement. Their proceedings of late have been carried on with audaciousness, tumult, outrage, and even in open *contempt* of the laws. They therefore *justly* deserve the reprehensions so *unjustly* cast upon the executive government of Ireland, and the latter well deserve the commendations so *falsely* bestowed on the Catholics.

They call themselves *humble Petitioners*, but, in fact, their conduct more nearly resembles that of *hectoring bullies*. Hence, on the 18th of last June, 1812, at an aggregate Catholic meeting, held in Dublin, Lord Killeen moved a series of fourteen Resolutions, recommending the renewal of an earnest application, by petition, to the Legislature, for the *total* and *unqualified* repeal of the penal laws; and lamenting that the "promised boon of Catholic freedom had been cruelly intercepted by the fatal *witchery* of an unworthy secret influence"—also recommending Catholic freeholders not to support any Candidates *who do not pledge themselves to*

support the Catholic cause, &c. And Counsellor O'Gorman (one of the leading members of the meeting) begged it might be distinctly understood, that any *arrangements* or *conditions*, which might be connected with Mr. Canning's motion, in the House of Commons, would have no influence on the Catholics of Ireland, *as they were determined to obtain their freedom UNCONDITIONALLY*. His speech was received with *loud applauses*.

Thus they address Parliament, not in the language of *supplication*, nor even *moderation*, but of *menace* and *defiance*. They affect to petition, but they inclose *swords* within their rolls of parchment. They appear before us, armed with all the insolence and violence of indisputable *right*, spurning the idea of all conditional requisites, all previous consideration, and provident delay. They send forth their demand in the *array of war*, and leave us no alternative but *submission* or *battle*. They dictate to us as *masters*, and give us plainly to understand, that if their *rightful* claims be obtained, they will consider it not as the boon of our *generosity*, but as extorted from us by our *fears*. Is this, then, the proof of "their *profound respect* to the Legislature, and their *dutiful submission* to the laws," as professed in their late Petition?

Some of their advocates, also, while they pretend to *debate* on the subject, in Parliament, take care to remind us of their *irresistible strength*. Hence, General Matthew threatens us "with a million of men in Ireland, of *age to bear arms*, and able to crush their *feeble oppressors* to the dust." And we can scarcely peruse a speech in their favour, which leaves us any other choice, than free admission of the Catholics into political power, or an avowed and justified rebellion.

At another aggregate meeting in July, "a Petition was read, which appears to be a transcript of the Petition, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Dissenters of England to Parliament, for universal religious freedom." Thus (as the editor of the Dublin Evening Post observes) "they resolved to *sink the question of Catholic Emancipation*, to petition upon the principles of the Dissenters for the removal of all disabili-

ties!'" And when Chevalier M^cCarthy moved this resolution as an amendment, that though "the Catholics are determined to persevere in demanding a total repeal of all the laws and disabilities by which they are affected, we are nevertheless ready to listen to any conciliatory overture, which, by removing the prejudices of many, and the alarms of some, may lead to a final *arrangement*, satisfactory to both parties." The same editor declares, that the Chevalier had hardly uttered the word "*arrangement*," when the feelings of the people were vented in marks of the strongest disapprobation and disgust, and that not a single person could be found to second so insidious and fatal an amendment." Hence we see, that while they boldly lay claim to every concession, without exception, which Protestants can make, these *loyal* and *peaceable* Catholics will not deign to make the least concession, on their part, but even reprobate the very mention of it. They refuse to accompany their unqualified demand with the offer or admission of any sort of securities and safeguards. They will not consent to remove any *prejudices*—they will not put an end to any *alarms*, nor even strive to quiet them—they will only be reconciled on their own terms, and we must yield to menaces and insults. Surely, then, every member of "the High Court of Parliament," who has the least spirit or sense of duty, will "determine" (as his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland lately did) "never to vote for the question, until these obnoxious resolutions (couched, besides, in the most intemperate and indecorous language) shall be rescinded."

Judge Blackstone, speaking of "the Rights of persons," mentions, among others, "the right of petitioning the King or either House of Parliament, for the redress of grievances. In Russia," (says he,) "we are told by Montesquieu, that the Czar Peter established a law, that no subject might petition the throne, till he had first petitioned two different ministers of state. In case he obtained justice from neither, he might then present a third petition to the Prince; but upon pain of death, if found to be in the wrong. The consequence

of which was, that no one dared to offer such third petition; and grievances seldom falling under the notice of the Sovereign, he had little opportunity to redress them. The restrictions, for some there are, which are laid upon petitioning in England, are of a nature extremely different; and while they promote the spirit of *peace*, they are no check upon that of *liberty*. Care only must be taken, lest, under the pretence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult; as happened in the opening of the memorable Parliament in 1640: and to prevent this, it is provided by the statute 13 Car. II. st. 1. c. 5. that no Petition to the King, or either House of Parliament, for any alterations in Church or State, shall be signed by above *twenty* persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the country, and, in London, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council; nor shall any Petition be presented by more than *ten* persons at a time."

But, have these regulations been attended to by the Roman Catholics? Or, have they been observed in the meetings of the Jacobins and some Dissenters of the present day? Far otherwise. The late Bishop Newton, in a letter addressed to Parliament, some years ago, made the following pertinent remarks, which, being so truly applicable to the present disturbed state of the nation, I trust, will be taken into serious contemplation by the members of both Houses.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—You are called, at a very important crisis, to a very important trust. We are become a most degenerate and wicked people. The judgments of God are hanging over the nation; and it is your duty seriously to consider how they may be prevented and averted. It is not talking and haranguing, but setting to work in earnest, that will ever produce any good. The Church and the State, religion and morality, law and liberty, all look up to you, as their guardians and protectors.

"I. The first subject that naturally offers itself to consideration, is that of the late riots in London. Such a scene was

never before exhibited in this country, nor I believe in any other; and the nation has an entire confidence in your wisdom, that you will take some effectual measures to prevent any return of the like dreadful calamities. The laws relating to riots were little understood, till they were explained, upon this occasion, with great ability, by Lord Mansfield. But they should be made so plain, that there can be no doubt about them; and they should also be strengthened and enforced by new laws and penalties, or things will easily grow worse and worse, and we shall fall a prey to a licentious and unruly mob. If *the Parliament* will not interpose, *the mob* will assuredly govern. The evil spirit is got among them, and you only can lay it; and you *must* lay it, or will yourselves be the first sufferers. It has been observed, that, in most other countries, injustice and oppression begin from *above*, and the people are trampled on by their *superiors*; but in England, on the contrary, the abuse begins from the *bottom*, and rises higher and higher; there prevailing among among us, universally, such an impatience of all rule and authority, such a disposition to molest and pull down those above us, as is not to be found in any other nation. I wish there may not be too much truth in this observation. Lawless liberty is the demon that possesses our people. Religion and morality have scarce any influence. Honesty and fidelity are rare among them. They "despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities." They are ripe for any mischief, and you should not only restrain them by good laws, but also set them a better example. Let *goodness* descend from *heaven above*, and not *wickedness* rise over all, as from *hell beneath*.

"II. Another evil that requires an immediate remedy, is growing apace, by the means of *associations* and *committees* of correspondence, in different counties. These, under the pretence of preserving, are really undermining, our happy Constitution, by setting up a new unauthorized *fourth* estate, to overawe and overrule the *three* old established estates of the realm, King, Lords, and Commons. Such as these were the beginnings of the civil commotions in the last century, but

with this difference, that then the Parliament and people were against the King, whereas now the people are against both King and Parliament. The cause being so much worse, we cannot look for any better effects than they experienced at that time, anarchy and confusion, in the beginning, and, in the end, a military government and tyrannical usurpation, till the people, wearied with continual changes, and oppressed beyond all patience, were happy at any rate to return to their old Constitution. The old barons were unwilling to have the laws of England changed, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*: but these men are for changing both the laws and the law-givers, and erect their own tribunal over all. Assert, therefore, your dignity; maintain your authority; enforce the execution of old laws, and enact new laws for new occasions. Without your exertions, there will be an utter end of all law, and of all government. All such *associations* should be suppressed, and strictly forbidden in future, and all such committee-men should be punished as traitors to their king and country, and enemies to the best constitution of government in the whole world.

"III. It is the undoubted right of British subjects to petition the King, and either House of Parliament; but, surely, this liberty has been carried too far in several instances, of late years. Some regulations should be made, both as to the *matter* of the Petitions, and as to the *manner* of presenting them. For, how often have the Corporation of London, for instance, presented petitions about matters, whereof they were by no means competent judges, and wherein they had little or no concern? Nay, after acts have passed both Houses, have they not still petitioned against them, as if it was wise or prudent in his Majesty to pay greater attention to the Common Council of London, than to the Great Council of the nation assembled in Parliament? Petitions should also be presented as Petitions, and not be carried up by *such numbers*, as if they meant to obtain them by force and violence. The freedom of debate is not to be impeded, or encroached upon, by *sturdy beggars*. The number of Petitioners is by law limited to

twenty, and if they exceed that number, as they have of late by hundreds and by thousands, all such Petitions should, for that very reason, if for nothing else, be rejected. Much more should they be rejected, when the persons, who present and support them, threaten recourse to arms; and whoever they are who hold such language, they should be confined and persecuted, as the stirrers up of rebellion."

If we now advert to the Catholic Committees, and Catholic Convention in Ireland, it will be found, that they were altogether unjustifiable, and that the accusations against the Government, for suppressing them, have been both false and injurious. For a long time interference had been abstained from, though it might have been justified by the Catholic proceedings: and it was probable that their Committee would never have been interrupted; but they proceeded to form a representation of five hundred persons to draw up a Petition, to give it weight, and a more respectable appearance. Should, then, such a numerous assembly of people be suffered? By no means: for if this representative body had been allowed to meet together, unmolested, they would probably have attempted to form themselves into a permanent Catholic Parliament, as the Romanists had often done before.

In the House of Lords, lately, when a motion was made for forming a Committee, to examine into the perturbed state of Ireland, the Earl of Liverpool said: "As to the conduct of the Government in Ireland, it was the universal opinion of that House, that a Convention, such as was sitting in Ireland, ought not to be allowed nor countenanced. A meeting, which was to consist of Catholic noblemen, Catholic prelates, and other descriptions of persons to the amount of more than five hundred men, was such as he should have thought would have alarmed all thinking men. What could be the purpose for which such an assembly could be convened? Had not the Catholics for many years past been allowed to present Petitions? How had those Petitions been treated? Refused, it was true; but as long as the House was not intimidated, their Petitions were received with all

respect; for though there was a power in the House, there had never been an instance in which it had been moved that a Catholic Petition should be rejected. Under all the circumstances of the case, it would have been a base dereliction of the Irish Government not to have acted as they did: and the statute-book and the law itself would have been a mockery, had they done less. He could not, therefore, see from these circumstances any ground for going into a Committee. Indeed, if he were, in that House, the most zealous advocate for the Catholic cause, he would not allow a Convention. If their claims were to be granted, it should be as a *boon*, and not to be *extorted* by such means as those now pursued."

The Marquis of Wellesley, also, when delivering his sentiments on this subject, "defied the noble Earl who supported the motion, to prove that the Irish Government had interposed between the Parliament and the right to petition to it of the meanest subject of that country; or that those subjects had been oppressed either by the Sovereign or the Parliament. In the whole transactions of the Government, which the noble Marquis felt himself personally interested to vindicate, was no step taken to check such a right; and this he affirmed in the name of that Government for whose honour he felt deeply concerned. He not only believed, that it was contrary to the feeling of the head of that Government, but he was convinced that the principal adviser of that Government would utterly repudiate and abhor any attempt to stand between the Parliament and the people, in the exercise of this high right. The measures which they had adopted were necessary to the safety of the kingdom, were advised by its law officers, and were sanctioned by the Court of King's Bench. Whether the advice was right or wrong, whether the law was bad or good, it was not necessary to discuss at present, although he was perfectly prepared at a future opportunity to defend it. Whatever was the pretence of the meeting, whether to petition, or otherwise, the Government were advised that such a Convention was con-

trary to law. He remembered that the opinion of Mr. Fox was in favour of this very act, in 1792, for he stated that the principle against which it was directed, was one calculated to create disturbance. But whatever might have been the impressions at that time, now, after the sitting of the Committee, and the knowledge of its proceedings, there could be no longer any doubt upon the subject. Yet what did the Irish Government do? They barely issued a proclamation, stating the law as it stood, and their determination to enforce it. And what followed? A direct and palpable violation of it. If any doubt was entertained as to that circumstance, let them appeal to the trial itself. At that trial there were some admirable specimens of the eloquence of the bar, and of the learning and acuteness of the judges, which every one must approve of; but the result was a distinct opinion that the letter of the law was in favour of Government.

"Upon what ground then did the Committee stand? If some violent act were committed by the Government, if some profligate interposition had taken place, in opposition to the rights of the people, in contradiction to the principles of the law, and the spirit of the Constitution, their ground was manifestly good. But had Government so interposed? Had it not *maintained*, instead of *violating*, rights? Had it not *supported*, instead of *defeating* law? Had it not *maintained*, instead of *undermining* the Constitution? There was no ground for the motion: he must object to it: he must vote against it. The line which Government had taken was one of admonition. It had told them they were acting *contrary to law*; and in doing so it had given them the best advice, for he knew nothing so unfavourable to their cause as the violation of a positive law. Nor was he aware of any thing which could give their application to Parliament a more unfortunate or more unpersuasive complexion, than the circumstance of having trampled on a proclamation of the executive power, for the purpose of planning a step injurious to the public tranquillity."

On the same occasion, the Earl of Rosse, likewise, agreed

with the Earl of Fitzwilliam's statement, "that the cause of the present discontent in Ireland was, the being prevented from petitioning in *the manner desired*. If," (said he,) "the Government had attempted to stifle petitioning, then their Lordships might have been properly called upon to interfere; for the Catholics had the same right as all the rest of his Majesty's subjects to petition: but the Irish Government had not attempted to impede the *Catholics* in any measure where they would not also have impeded the *Protestants*. The claims of the Catholics could be but *equal*, not *superior*, privileges to the Protestants, who, if they had endeavoured to petition by Convention, must have been proceeded against in a precisely similar manner. He would for a moment put the Convention Act out of the question, and ask, whether the people of England would have a right to petition by Convention, as attempted in Ireland? The House of Commons were the only constitutional representatives of the people: but for a moment he would suppose the case to be otherwise; that the people should elect another representative body,—that delegates from different counties should meet in the metropolis, and for the most legitimate object—the redress of grievances. When so met, what could hinder them from agitating every subject connected remotely or directly with their main object? Might they not discuss the whole system of peace and war, the raising of taxes, the ability to pay them, the resources for recruiting armies, the state of our foreign relations—in short, the whole internal and external policy of the kingdom? All the topics, in fact, which occupy the attention of Parliament in a whole session, might be deliberated in such a conventional assembly. What, however, would be the consequence, of *two* such representative bodies? Surely this, that it would frequently occur, that *one* representative Convention would issue opinions directly opposite to those of the *other*. He would ask, also, if such a Convention had a right to sit for a day or a week, why not for a month or a year—or as long as Parliament should sit, or as long as it pleased? If, however, no noble Lord could shut

his mind to the dangers of such a Convention—if all must agree, that such a representative assembly should be crushed in its very commencement, then the *Irish* Government should not be reprehended for doing what the *English* Government, in a case exactly analogous, would be reprehended for not doing. If he were asked what precedent, what law, he could adduce in support of his opinions, he would answer, the immemorial usage of our ancestors; the non-existence, during any period of our history, of such a scheme of representation, (for the Convention of the Revolution was not a corresponding case); and, lastly, its incompatibility with the nature of our Constitution.

The law, then, had dictated to the Irish Government the course which it was their duty to pursue. An act of Parliament had dictated the same course—and they had pursued it. He wished noble Lords to recollect, that when the provisions of that statute were first debated in that House, no noble Lord had objected to the construction of that act, but to the method of promulgating it. The noble Lords on the opposite side had recommended the method by proclamation; the Irish Government had adopted that method on the present occasion; and if the Irish Catholics had entertained any respect for the two Houses of Parliament, or for the ordinances of their own Government, they would have desisted from a farther prosecution of their plan. On the contrary, what steps had they taken? The Irish Government, in exact compliance with the proposition of noble Lords on the other side of the House, had, on one day, issued a proclamation; they had at the same time addressed a communication to the head of the Catholic body; but the very next day a counter-proclamation appeared from the Catholics. Thus they set themselves in direct opposition, in evident and open hostility, to the Government: and was this a time to submit to their pretensions and adopt conciliatory measures?

“The Government were accused of exciting discontent among the Catholics; but how had they done so? By enforcing the laws? Surely, not to those who enforced, but

to those who *broke* the laws, should be imputed the blame of exciting discontent. The conduct of the Duke of Richmond, so far from being reproachable, appeared to him to deserve great praise for its conciliatory spirit and forbearance, as long as such forbearance was legally possible. For to what excess might not the principle and plan of the Convention have been carried? How had America proceeded, when it wished to *separate* itself from this kingdom? Was it not by means of a Representative Assembly? The Government, it appeared, had exerted itself with vigour to crush a dangerous Convention. Would the noble Lords *desert* them in this laudable attempt? Would they not rather *second* them, and *confirm* their acts? All that was loyal in Ireland would look to the Parliament for that firm assistance which it was wont to receive from it. Should this be granted, then all the dangers with which we were menaced would soon pass away.”

The noble Lord then stated, in conclusion, that “had the conduct of the Irish Government been *weak* and *pusillanimous*, there would have been cause of fear; but since, on the contrary, it had been *bold* and *determinate*,—since it had, with persevering *firmness*, upheld the laws against all persons who had infringed them, however high their rank,—in this state of things the number of the discontented may be great, the ranks of the disloyal may be numerous, but Ireland is *safe*.”

The illegality of the Catholic Convention, and the insolent contempt which that self-constituted body shewed for the law of the land, and for those who administered it, may be still more strongly demonstrated, by the following authentic document.

“*Court of King's Bench, Dublin, Feb. 6.—The King, v. Kirwan.*—The traverser in this case, found guilty on the 30th ult. of a misdemeanour by a breach of the Convention Act, was this day brought up for judgment, which the Court was pleased to pronounce as follows:—

“Mr. Thomas Kirwan; You have been tried upon an indictment found against you, upon the statute 33d of the

King, commonly called the Convention Act. You voted and acted in the election of delegates, to represent the Roman Catholic inhabitants of a certain district in the City of Dublin in the general Catholic Convention, and after a patient and solemn trial of four days, you have been, upon clear, conclusive, and uncontradicted evidence, found guilty.

“ Indeed your own Counsel, eminently qualified to make the most of any case, seemed from the beginning to have abandoned and admitted the fact, for instead of controverting that fact, which was not committed in a corner, they confined your defence, first, to a challenge of the array, which, after ten days discussion, proved false in its foundation, and malignant in its motive; 2dly, to an endless and tiresome course of unavailing and irrelevant cross-examination; and lastly, to certain nonsuit points, evading the truth and merits of the case, certain alleged variances between the indictment and the evidence, which being submitted to the Judges, were unanimously and without hesitation held by them to be immaterial, and were over-ruled.

“ The act of which you stand convicted has been declared and enacted by the Legislature a high misdemeanour—not for being in its own nature contrary to any principle of honesty, morality, or justice, but for wise and political reasons, namely, because, in the words of the statute, ‘ the election of representative bodies may be used to serve the ends of *factions* and *seditions* persons, to the violation of the public peace.’ The statute, therefore, first declares and enacts, that all representative bodies—all delegations for public matters, are *unlawful* assemblies, and provides that even the pretence of petitioning, whether true or false—that the most constitutional or specious of all purposes, shall not serve to cloak the proceeding.

“ By a superabundant care, it saves the sacred right of Petition, leaving it in the same precise plight and condition as when asserted, at the glorious Revolution, by the Bill of Rights. Thus that inestimable and unalterable privilege of a free people has been expressly saved alike to all the sects of

Ireland, whether Protestant, Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic, in the same purity and perfection in which it is enjoyed by our fellow-subjects in England; and for myself, I own I do not desire to move in a wider or more enlarged sphere of civil and political liberty, than that high-minded and intelligent people are contented to enjoy. In England, where a clear conception and a noble jealousy of their rights and privileges, are known to pervade the whole mass of the people; in their widest excesses of freedom, assemblies of this description were never thought of. These Conventions and Congresses, and other Assemblies, formerly elected to represent great bodies, are exclusively of Irish growth, and have always been plainly calculated to overawe the Parliament, to control its deliberative faculty, and to brave and browbeat the Government. Such were the Dungannon Conventionists of 1793; such were the Volunteer Conventionists of 1782; such was the Catholic Convention assembled at Kilkenny in 1642, composed precisely of the same materials as the present Catholic Convention—of peers and prelates, and of county and city representatives, who commenced their labours with solemn professions of humility and moderation, and ended in forming themselves into a Parliament, and assuming the functions of a Legislature.

“ Such assemblies as these are the representatives of discontent, become, by an easy and natural transition, the ministers of sedition. Turbulent and loud-tongued politicians, whose trade is declamation, and whose motive is not religion but ambition, soon command and domineer at such assemblies; the light and worthless like chaff rise to the surface, and soon acquire an ascendancy, while those of intrinsic weight and sterling value sink to the bottom and disappear.

“ Under these circumstances, the Government, in discharge of its prime and most imperious trust, have stepped out seasonably, and with a laudable energy, to avert the impending danger, but with an energy, not more laudable and efficient, than the moderation and conciliatory spirit which they have displayed; the Attorney-General, having obtained

upon two several occasions the deliberate constructions of the Court upon the statute in question, feels himself at liberty to indulge the well-known mildness of his nature and the magnanimous moderation of his Government, and has entered a *noli prosequi* upon the several other depending cases.

"Before I close, allow me to recommend, sir, to you, and through you, to the Catholic body, the sage counsel of their best adviser, and their cordial friend, the Solicitor-General. I agree, implicitly with him, that the *Catholic cause* has not so mischievous an enemy as the *Catholic Convention*. That *unlawful assembly* has diverted the public mind from the true question; and before the great question of Catholic Emancipation can be discussed, the laws and Constitution, which this assembly has invaded, must be vindicated. It is not through the wounded sides of the Constitution, or over the trampled laws of the land, that they can hope to win a passage to the Temple of Liberty.

"The Court entertains the most sanguine hope, that the act of Parliament, which had never been awakened into action, will be allowed to resume its long slumber in the statute-book, and in that hope, have resolved to inflict upon you only a nominal punishment. Feeling it, however, to be their duty to express their most marked reprobation of certain slanderous practices, in the course of your defence; but particularly of your affidavit; which, though circulated in congenial papers with all the triumph of *truth*, was found to be so *false* and *scurrilous*, as to be ordered off the file, and not allowed to pollute the Records of the Court.

"The sentence of the Court is, that you, *Thomas Kirwan*, be fined one mark, and discharged.

"Mr. *Kirwan* bowed to the Court and retired;" conscious, no doubt, that the observations were just, and that Government treated him with far greater lenity than he had reason to expect.

Having fully shewn the futility of the Catholic pretensions to *peaceableness* and *loyalty*, I now go on to consider another

plea of *merit*, alleged in their favour, namely, that "they supported in Ireland the great measure of an Union of the two kingdoms, and by their exertions effected it." But this is as void of foundation in fact, as the former. Every one, who has the smallest acquaintance with the history of Ireland, must acknowledge, that the whole body of *Irish Romanists*, from the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the present time, has directed all its exertions to the *separation* of Ireland from England. Such separation was, and is, the point to which they have uniformly directed all their conspiracies, all their massacres, all their rebellions, all their political views and measures. The *Irish Protestants*, on the contrary, were always firmly attached to Great Britain, and always looked to her for protection, countenance, and support; being ready at all times to expend the last shilling of their property, and spill the last drop of their blood, in defence of the just rights of the British empire. *The whole body of Protestants*, till a few years back, and a very great majority of them since, were ambitious of uniting the nation indissolubly to Great Britain, by an incorporating Union; and, by their representatives in Parliament, actually petitioned the Crown to procure such an Union, in the reign of Queen Anne; which Petition was then, with unaccountable haughtiness, rejected. But the *Irish Romanists*, so late as the year 1795, proclaimed their hostility to that measure. In the spring of that year, the representatives of the whole mass of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, chosen from every considerable district, city, and town in that kingdom, by open, popular election, assembled at St. Francis's Romish chapel, in the city of Dublin. In this assembly, the most treasonable speeches, stuffed with the most virulent invectives against the British nation, and the most lavish praises of the *French revolution*, stigmatizing the war against the French regicides with the epithet of an *impious crusade*, and exhorting the nation to a *separation from Great Britain*, were uttered by several of the leading and popular *Romanists*. The assembly entered unanimously into several *factional* and

treasonable resolutions. It was surmised at this assembly, that an Union between Great Britain and Ireland was then in the contemplation of Government, though no such measure had been announced; and one of the unanimous resolutions was the following: "Resolved, that we pledge ourselves, collectively and individually, to resist even our own Emancipation, if proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the *fatal measure* of an Union with Great Britain." By the unanimous vote of this assembly, also, consisting of above fifteen hundred men, representatives of all the Romanists of Ireland, these resolutions, together with abstracts of the speeches of the principal demagogues among them, were published in most of the factious papers, both in Great Britain and Ireland. Here then is proof positive of the hostile sentiments of the whole mass of Irish Romanists, not of any partial body of them, to the measure of an incorporating Union of the two nations, so late as the year 1795.

Their declarations against the measure did not stop there: in the year 1799, as soon as an Union was proposed by Government, a meeting of the Romanists of the city of Dublin was convened by their leaders at the Royal Exchange. At this meeting, a very general one, they entered into violent resolutions *against* an Union, which they published, as usual, in the factious papers both in England and Ireland. The same line of conduct was pursued in several other parts of Ireland. Though this hostility of the Irish Romanists to an Union was perfectly impotent, (the political imbecility of the whole sect, particularly after the suppression of their then recent rebellion, rendering them incapable either of promoting or obstructing the measure); yet the English Government in Ireland condescended to negotiate with the party, and endeavoured to procure signatures of the dregs of the people of that persuasion to papers and addresses in favour of the measure. Several addresses of this kind appeared in the Government prints; the names of wretches who could not write their names, appeared as if they were subscribers to such addresses.

The very gaols were canvassed to procure subscribers, and multitudes of names appeared, as the names of real subscribers to these addresses, though persons of such names did not exist in the places from which the addresses were stated to have been sent. In short, with all the activity and intrigue of Government, no considerable body of Romanists throughout the kingdom could be procured, publicly to avow their approbation of the measure.

It is admitted, that many honest men, and good subjects, at this side of the water, (utterly ignorant of the state of Ireland, and of Irish affairs,) have been duped, by the most shameful falsehoods and misrepresentations, into an approbation of the measure now in debate; and that there is a difference of opinion among men of that description respecting it; but among *demagogues, republicans, and infidels*, there is no difference of opinion on it. They are *unanimous* in its support; and their *unanimity* on the point should induce all *loyal* subjects, who have been deluded into an opinion of its utility to the State, to re-examine the grounds of their opinion, and the authenticity of the information on which they formed it.

It is fit to be remarked, that the first decisive step of the French revolutionists in their career of anarchy, was the subversion of their *Church Establishment*, which led immediately to the subversion of their *civil government*. The consequence of the proposed measure, if adopted, will be the same in the British empire; it therefore meets the approbation of all the Jacobins in it.

"To demonstrate, (said Dr. Duigenan, in the House of Commons,) that Irish Romanists neither gave, nor could give, any assistance to the measure of an incorporating Union, it is only necessary to state a known matter of fact, which is, that a great majority of the Irish Parliament would never have agreed to an incorporating Union with Great Britain, if any hint had been given, or had it even been suspected, that the present measure would be attempted; after an Union had taken place. I call on the persons concerned on the part of Government in conducting the business of the Union in the

Irish House of Commons, to deny this fact, if they can. For my own part, I can truly aver, that, instead of warmly supporting the measure of an Union in the Irish Commons, I would have opposed it to the utmost of my power, had I suspected that such a measure as the present would have been introduced into Parliament, in the event of an Union taking place; and I know many members of the Irish Commons, supporters of the Union, who would have decidedly opposed it, had they any suspicion of the present measure being one of its consequences. In short, the greater part of the Irish Commons would have done so.

“One principal argument made use of by all the agents of Government to the Irish members, to induce them to agree to an Union, was, that all hostility of the British Cabinet to Irish Protestants, and all further encouragement and support of Irish Romanists, would for ever cease, on the establishment of an Union between the two countries, because all inducement to such a species of policy would then for ever cease. Could any British subject ever suspect, that, in the reign of a prince of the House of Brunswick, a measure would be proposed in a British Parliament, the attempting of which cost the unhappy James II. his crown, expatriated him and his posterity, and caused a breach in the hereditary succession of our Kings, always a serious evil in an hereditary monarchy? Astonishing, that what our Kings could not even attempt with impunity, should be, after a lapse of one century, daringly attempted; and that too under the reign of a Prince, whose sole title to the crown rests on a principle directly adverse and opposite to the principle of this measure! His title is a *Protestant* title, and, thanks to Heaven! our Monarch is a *Protestant*, a sincere one, and bound by his oath, and as strongly by his principles, to maintain the *Protestant* religion as by law established. This measure directly tends to the sapping of his title; for if it is just and advantageous to the State, now to invest *Romanists* with equal political privileges with *Protestants*, it was equally so in the reign of King James II.

“Such a measure, now that an Union between Great Britain

and Ireland has taken place, is more mischievous to the British empire, than it could have been in the reign of James; because, in his reign, few Romanists could obtain seats in the British Parliament, as their sect was not then, nor is it now, very numerous in Great Britain. But Irish Romanists, if this measure succeeds, will obtain seats in Parliament, and in the course of a few years, it is probable that above eighty Romanists, out of the hundred Irish Commoners, will become members—a strong band, indissolubly knit together, who will certainly be allied to every junto of Republicans, every band of Dissenters, in every opposition to Government, unless they shall be gratified to the utmost extent of their wishes, by the utter subversion of the Constitution in Church and State. Can any doctrine make more for the purposes and designs of the infidel and republican factions in our empire? Can any measure more directly tend to the introduction of anarchy, democracy, and infidelity, nay, to an entire change of Government?

It may be justly remarked, that this measure for the elevation and aggrandizement of Popery, following so immediately on the heels of the Romish rebellion in Ireland, and the horrible massacre of the Irish Protestants in the course of it, coupled with the almost general pardon of the principal traitors and murderers, actors in it, if it should be adopted, must, by every reasonable man, be considered as a public reward conferred on Irish Romanists for their rebellion and cruel assassination of their Protestant fellow-subjects in cold blood; and that too a reward of the utmost magnitude and value. It has been already proved, that it cannot be esteemed a reward of their *merits*, for *merits they have none*.”

SECTION XI.

The Popish religion always the same; militates strongly against every Church and State not in communion with it.

ONE of the arguments in support of the Roman Catholic claims is, that the present generation of them are much more enlightened than their ancestors, and that they are not now of such an intolerant and persecuting spirit as those in former ages. But this is mere assertion, without *proof*; and the contrary has been evinced in some of the preceding pages. There it has been fully shewn, that the doctrines, political, moral, and religious, contained in the Petition, and stated to be the principles inculcated by the Roman Catholics, are diametrically opposite to the principles taught and inculcated by the canons and decrees of general councils, by all writers, lay and cleric, of the greatest authority among the Romanists, and adopted by the universal practice of their Church, from the date of the Council of Lateran, to the *present day*. For, their modern writers, such as Dr. Tory, and Mr. Plowden, maintain, that "the religious principles of the Roman Catholics being *unchangeable*, they are applicable to *all times*; and that if any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that modern Roman Catholics differ, *in one iota*, from their ancestors, he either deceives himself, or wishes to deceive others; and that *semper eadem*" (*always the same*) "is emphatically descriptive of their religion."

Dr. Jortin observes (v. 7. p. 373): "The author of the life of Cardinal Pole hath lately undertaken to recommend to us the very *scum* and *dregs* of Popery, and to *vilify* and *calumniate* the Reformation and the Reformers, in a bigoted, disingenuous, and superficial performance. Yet even this poor attempt hath its use. For it serves to inform us of the true and the *unalterable* spirit of Popery, and to shew us what usage we have to expect, if these ecclesiastics could once more rule over us. It is fit that we should be sometimes put in mind of this; for we

have been strangely apt to forget it, and to contradict a proverb of our own, which says, that 'a burnt child dreads the fire.'"

Let me now appeal to matters of fact. Are not all the late insurrections and rebellions in Ireland, a standing evidence of the hostility which the Papists still bear to the Protestants? And, if they are not all relaxed in their hatred towards those whom they are pleased to style *heretics*, why are the horrid cruelties of the Inquisition still continued in all countries where the Popish religion bears the sway? Nay, does not this execrable "tribunal exist in Goa, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion?" Whoever reads Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches in Asia," lately published, will feel his blood run chill at the details given of the Inquisition there: p. 250—267.

Does not one of their *present* bishops (Dr. Butler) tell us plainly that "there is no other true Church, besides the Holy Catholic Church," and that "all are obliged to be of this true Church," because "no one can be saved out of it?" (Cat. p. 16). And are not the Papists now publicly vending and dispersing different tracts and books, not only recommending their own preposterous tenets and superstitious rites, but scurrilously abusing the Protestant religion? Formerly, they were cautious even in bringing books into the realm, though printed abroad; or if they ventured to print, yet never to name the place where they were printed, or advertise them for sale; but circulated them in a *private* manner: whereas, now, since the passing of the late acts in their favour, they advertise their books and pamphlets in the public papers; and the editor of the abstract of the *Douay Catechism*, published in 1779, has not only put his name and place of abode on the title page; but has told us, in capitals, that it is WITH PERMISSION.

But I have a much more important observation to make, which must strike every impartial reader with the fullest conviction, that *Popery is always the same*; and that its adherents are, at this day, as inveterate enemies to the Protestant cause, as any of their predecessors.

In the year 1771, a book appeared, (without the printer's name,) entitled "The general History of the Christian Church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in Heaven, chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle. By Sig. Pastorini." And, in 1782, it was reprinted at Wigan, by R. Furguson.

When it first came into my hands, I concluded, that the author was either an Italian nobleman, or a bishop of the Romish Church, under a fictitious name, supposing that *Pastorini* signified a chief *pastor*, or shepherd. But, in some time after, I was credibly informed, that Dr. Walmesley, then titular bishop of Bath and Wells, was the real author. Of this, however, I had no positive proof, until lately I saw a "fourth edition" of the work, with a portrait of that Bishop prefixed to it, under which are the following titles—"The Venerable and Right Reverend Charles Walmesley, Lord Bishop of Rama, Vicar Apostolic of the Western district, O. S. B. D. D. of Sorbon, F. R. S. of London and Berlin—Ob. November 25th, 1797. *Ætat.* 75. the 40th of his Episcopacy." But, what is still more extraordinary, it appears to have been published by the Professors of the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth; for it was printed in Dublin (as the title-page informs us) "by H. Fitzpatrick, 4, Capel-street, Printer and Bookseller to the R. C. College, Maynooth, 1805."

That the Protestant Government, under which the Catholics live, has been requited with audacious insolence, and the basest ingratitude, will be evident to all who attentively peruse the extracts I shall furnish them with, and who consider the uncommon liberality and generosity with which the Catholics have been treated; their most magnificent seminary of learning at Maynooth being raised for them at the expence of the nation, and still supported by it.

But before I enter upon that part of the work which relates to the Protestants, I wish to make some remarks on the Introduction. And, first, it appears, from the author's own confession, how incompetent either he himself, or any

other human creature must be, to speak so peremptorily as he does, concerning the interpretation of a prophecy, which is evidently very mysterious, and which annotators of all descriptions allow to be so. While some able writers have modestly declined to attempt an explanation of what they judged inexplicable, (believing that the true meaning of the prophecy can only be known by the accomplishment,) others have boldly ventured to unfold its darkest pages: but, as might naturally be expected, they *all* differ in their exposition, not even any *two* of them agreeing together. Hence we find this episcopal writer condemning even some of his own communion for their misapprehension and misapplication of the Revelation.

"The celebrated commentators," (says he, p. 9,) "Bossuet and Calmet, have too much contracted this admirable prophecy, by confining its contents to so short a period as the four first centuries of the Christian æra, and applying the whole, except the two last chapters, to the persecutions the Church suffered from the Pagan Roman emperors, and to the destruction of the Roman empire. For this reason, the two abovementioned authors have been obliged to *wrest the text*, and give it a *forced improbable explication*, to bring it within their system," &c. With much more justice, however, we may retort this latter charge upon himself, as well as those other words of his, (p. 13): "If a wrong system be pitched upon, the difficulty of reconciling the different parts of the prophecy becomes insuperable; and this has appeared fully in the attempts of several interpreters," and, among the rest, in his own fallacious attempt.

Again, though he says (p. 10), "We have followed, in general, the plan laid down by Mr. De la Chetardie, towards the close of the last century, as it has been since improved by a late French commentator on the Scripture," yet he observes, "we have frequently deviated from the above-named writers, to substitute what we thought a more *genuine* explication." He also tells us (p. 17): "In composing this work we have freely made use of other authors, where we liked their

opinions; and we hope to incur no censure, when on other occasions we have substituted our own. Some *few* passages of the Apocalypse have been generally understood in the same sense by all the ancient fathers of the Church and modern Catholic interpreters; to these we have scrupulously adhered, and founded our interpretation on their testimony. In other places, where former writers took the liberty of interpreting, and differed in their expositions, we have likewise thought it lawful to use the same liberty. We hope for indulgence, if in some few instances we appear to have applied the texts of the ancient Prophets to what they have not usually been applied. This freedom, we presume, is allowable, when the sense of the texts has never been fully settled." Wise in his own conceit, however, he has discovered the true "sense of the texts," though clouds and darkness are round about them, as appears from the following remark, (p. 12.) "*Obscurity* is a general characteristic of prophecy, but it is peculiarly so of the Apocalypse, as every commentator has acknowledged. This book appears at first sight impenetrable. Let any one dip into it without having a key to open to him the meaning, and he will see nothing but a continued series of the most mysterious enigmas. Hence it has happened that so many different explications have been invented;" in which number we must reckon those of this Catholic Bishop.

But, *obscure* and *enigmatical* as the Apocalypse confessedly is (even by his own account), yet, forsooth, we must take his word for it, that he has obtained (doubtless from Heaven) "a key to open to him the meaning," and to let others into it. And, therefore, he says (p. 13), "When the plan of the book is discovered and ascertained, the difficulties decrease, and the obscurities gradually disappear. Thus a surprising light breaks in upon the Apocalypse"—which light shone so bright upon him, that, by diffusing its rays, others also may be illuminated. Accordingly, he says, "Whoever looks back into the history of the Church, and compares attentively the facts," (that is, if we implicitly take his

false statement of them) "with the expressions of St. John, will see a distinct analogy and connection between them."

It is clear, however, from his own declarations, that the Romanists themselves are divided in their opinions, concerning the predictions of St. John, and if the Protestants give a totally different signification of them, who can positively tell where the truth lies. Yet this Popish prelate speaks in the most dogmatical manner, as if he were actually inspired, or that he could at least say, with Job, "The root of the matter is in me." His arrogance will be still more manifest, if we reflect on some other of his observations.

"When Almighty God," (says he,) "thinks fit to reveal future events, he generally expresses them in *obscure* terms, that leave the meaning more or less *uncertain*. This seems to be done in order to prevent the *daring presumption* of some men, who might attempt, if the prophecies were *clear*, to obstruct and hinder their accomplishment. Others of mankind, of a timorous disposition, would be alarmed, and over much terrified at disasters which they foresaw were impending upon them. On another hand, if futurity was clearly foretold, it might seem to entrench upon that liberty, which God hath been pleased to grant to man, of directing his own conduct and actions. For these reasons, the generality of prophecies are *covered with a veil of darkness and uncertainty*."

Now, according to his own reasoning here, is not this Bishop of "the holy and infallible Catholic Church," guilty of "*daring presumption*," in endeavouring to make prophecies so *clear* as to induce wicked men to "attempt the obstruction and hinderance of their accomplishment?" If, "in order to prevent this, God thinks fit to reveal future events in *obscure* terms," is not this "Apostolical Vicar" striving to frustrate God's design, by so plainly *elucidating* those future events," that *he who runs may read them* in their true light? If "*prophecies are covered with a veil of darkness and uncertainty*," does not he, by his *luminous explanation* of them, "seem to intrench upon that liberty, which

God has been pleased to grant to man, of directing his own conduct and actions?" By his interpretation also of the "fifth trumpet," which is to sound a dreadful alarm in the ears of Protestants,) and of "the fifth vial," which is to be poured out upon them in all its fury, does he not hereby oppose God's will, who does not make his "prophecies clear," lest those "of a timorous disposition should be alarmed, and overmuch terrified at disasters which they foresaw were impending upon them?" But though this "Venerable and Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Rama," contrary to the divine intentions, endeavours to *torment men before the time*, I trust no Protestant will be of such a weak and "timorous disposition," as to be frightened by declarations, which, so far from having any foundation in the *Scriptures of the truth*, are totally repugnant to them.

As the bulls of Popes, and the anathemas of their priests, are so much dreaded by their blinded votaries, so this High Priest among them thinks, in like manner, to draw over, by threatenings, some ignorant and fearful Protestants to a profession of the Catholic faith. Hence he speaks thus: "The plan of the Apocalypse consists in a division of the whole Christian æra, to the end of time, into seven *ages*, corresponding to the seven *seals*, seven *trumpets*, and seven *vials*, mentioned in the Apocalypse; so that to each belong a seal, trumpet, and vial. The lamb holds a book sealed with seven seals, which he opens one after another. This book contains the history of the formation and propagation of Christ's Church," (that is, the Church of Rome,) "together with the *opposition made to the establishment of it*," by Protestants. "To every seal corresponds a trumpet, which is sounded by an angel. The sound of a trumpet naturally indicates an *alarm*; and such is the nature of the trumpets in the Apocalypse. They always announce events that are *alarming* to the Church, such as *persecutions*, *intestine convulsions*, occasioned by heresies, &c. After the trumpets follow the *Vials of the wrath of God*. These convey the *punishment* which Christ inflicts on the *enemies of his people*," viz. the

Romish people, to whom the Protestants, and all such heretics, are by them accounted *enemies*." P. 10, 11.

With the same view of deterring the Protestants from holding fast their religion, this learned "D. D." tells us, (p. 19, 20,) that, "besides the advantage resulting from a general survey of the history of the Church, another motive for attending to the Apocalypse, is, the particular interest every Christian must take in that part of the history which relates to the *present time*, and to those scenes which are *approaching*. Much instruction may be drawn from the *present state* of the Church, as described by our prophetic writer; and caution ought to be the result for what we find is to happen hereafter. If God reveals to us mysteries, it is for our instruction: if he discloses to us future events, doubtless he does it to give us warning to prepare for them. This kind of economy Almighty God observed towards mankind from the beginning, that in consequence of such previous admonitions, his faithful servants" (the Romanists) "should withdraw themselves from approaching calamities, while the *wicked*" (Protestants) "*might impute to their own obstinacy the punishments that fell upon them*."

But that Protestants may "continue steadfast in the" true "faith," I would not only remind them of the *absurdities* already pointed out in the author's introduction (consisting only of fourteen pages), but would also direct their attention to other inconsistencies. He here says, "If God reveals to us mysteries, it is for our instruction." Now, I know not of any *second Revelation*, (since *that* written by St. John,) which has been given to *him*, or any other man, infallibly explanatory of the *first*; so that all the *mysteries* contained in the Apocalypse remain *mysteries* still, and will so remain, until "the fulness of time" shall *reveal* their meaning. It is *then alone* that men shall receive "*instruction*" from them. Meanwhile, let us be convinced of the folly and presumption of supposing we have really discovered the whole mind of God, in these prophetic pages: for this Popish Divine himself allows, that "the *obscurity* which covers the Apoca-

lypse has been the occasion of its having been so little attended to. We have therefore attempted," (says he, and a vain and futile attempt it is,) "to remove that obstacle: but if we have not totally succeeded, we plead indulgence from the *difficulty* of explaining a prophecy so sublime, and *the most mysterious!* that is extant." p. 19. Thus, from his own acknowledgment, we are to consider him only as a *fallible* interpreter; and should always bear in mind those words of Dr. Young, "A mystery *explained* is a mystery *destroyed*: for, what is a mystery, but a thing *not known*?"

Besides, this Popish expositor confesses, that, "in order to form a regular narration," he found "it necessary to *transpose* many things in the Apocalypse; for as St. John so often travels through the whole period of the Christian æra, at each time relating *only a part* of the transactions, we are obliged to collect, from *different* parts of the book, all those facts that belong to the same age." p. 16. Thus the *modest* author, by his "*regular* narration," presumes to correct the *irregularity* of the inspired Prophet, and by *collecting* detached parts, and *transposing* them, he makes the Scriptures to speak what he would have them speak. By such audacious liberty the most heretical and blasphemous doctrines may be maintained. And yet, when speaking of his work, he says, "We hope the attentive reader, when he has considered the whole, will approve our sentiments, and applaud our endeavours." And again he says, "This most instructive book we cannot but earnestly recommend to every Christian; and we hope our recommendation will have the more weight, as it is grounded on the words of the divine book itself, "Blessed is he that readeth and heareth the words of this prophecy; and keepeth those things which are written in it." Apoc. i. 3.

There are, certainly, in the Revelation, many divine truths which are easily understood, and are both edifying and consolatory to all true believers. There are threatenings in it also, sufficient to alarm the careless and the wicked, that, "by the terrors of the Lord," they might be "persuaded to flee from the wrath to come." And it is, I imagine, chiefly

in allusion to these plain truths, promises, and menaces, intermingled with the prophetic parts, that the holy Apostle declares, "Blessed is he that readeth, and heareth the words of this prophecy." These words compose the *motto* in Sig. Pastorini's title page; and he makes much use of them, in the hope that those who reverence the Scriptures, may be induced to pay particular attention to the reading of the Revelation, accompanied with his *explanation* of it; for it is *that* which he would "earnestly recommend."

Accordingly, when expounding this passage of Scripture, he says. "We are here assured, that great is the advantage of attending to what is delivered in the Apocalypse; for they are pronounced *blessed*, who *read* or *hear* read the words of this prophecy, and who *keep* the things which are written in it, that is, who take due notice of the things which are written in it, in order to compare what is already fulfilled with the real events, to beware of what is foretold to come, and to draw proper instructions from both. These prophecies are the more interesting, as *the time is at hand*, for the accomplishment of some of them, and the rest will follow in their order."

In the conclusion of his work, he shews "the goodness and security of God"—to his "holy Catholic Church" *goodness*, but severity towards the Pagan emperors in the first ages, and to the Protestant heretics afterwards, who persecuted her.

"Thus have we seen" (says he, p. 468) "the whole history of the Church of Christ, traced from her birth through her various difficulties and trials, through her persecutions from idolators, and convulsions by heresies; under all which she shone bright, like the sun, by the vigour of her faith and fortitude: nor was it in the power of hell and earth, though combined together, to crush her or hinder her growth. We have had a view of the admirable economy, according to which Christ rules this his Church; we have seen the special care with which he protects her, and with what severity he punishes those who dare to injure her.

"Nothing further now remains but to request, that this

present history may be received by the readers in that view for which it is intended, namely, for their instruction. They are now become sensible, we presume, of the utility of studying the Apocalypse. And what indeed can be more express on that head than the declaration of Christ himself, which we beg leave here to repeat: *Blessed is he, that readeth and heareth the words of this prophecy; and keepeth those things which are written in it.* (Apoc. i. 3). And again: *Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book.* (Apoc. xxii. 7). That this advice may be attended to is our sincere wish, and here we close the present work with the blessing delivered in the last verse of this admirable prophecy: *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.*"

How artful is all this! For he evidently means to persuade his readers, that he alone is *blessed*, who reads the Revelation according to the *exposition* which he has given of it.

But if the inspired penman had any such meaning as this Catholic Bishop affixes to the text, as if it related *only*, or *principally*, to the *prophetical* part of the book, he would have expressed himself with greater *perspicuity*, saying: "Blessed is he that readeth," and *perfectly understandeth* the *dark prophecies* herein delivered. For, according to this Right Rev. Doctor, "the divine pen is visible in *every line*, as *each sentence* is apparently written with such *precision* and *accuracy*, that a word cannot be *added* or *retrenched*, without *derogating from the sense*." What, then, are we to think of his numerous *additions*, and false *comments*, whereby "the word of God is made of none effect;" so that the Lord may answer him, as he did Job, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" Job. xxxviii. 2.

Though "the most Rev. Dr. James Butler" says, in his Catechism, that "the Church cannot err in what it teaches, because Christ promised to the pastors of his Church, *Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world,*" p. 18,) yet they who are conversant with history, and espe-

cially with *that* of England, will readily perceive that this "Doctor of Sorbon" has greatly erred in what he teaches; and that his "History of the Christian Church" is replete with the foulest calumnies, and the most notorious falsehoods. He displays, indeed, so much ingenuity, as to make his representations appear *plausible*; but the judicious reader will discern, that what he says in support of the Romish Church, and in defamation of the Protestant reformed religion, exhibits nothing but what all the Popish writers, in general, are noted for, jesuitical sophistry, artful evasion, and impudent lies. In their controversies, we may expect any thing from them but *the truth*.

In reading the extracts which I shall now produce, let it be always remembered, that as (according to Bishop Butler's Catechism) "there is but one true Church," namely, "the holy Catholic Church, out of which no one can be saved," (p. 16) so, when his Right Rev. brother, "Doctor Charles Walmesley," speaks of *the faithful servants of Christ, of the people of God, of the elect, of the saints, or of the Church*, he invariably means *the Church of Rome*, for "there is no other true Church besides"—and that all who belong not to *that* Church are to be esteemed as *the enemies* of God, upon whom he will execute the fierceness of his wrath. The Protestants, therefore (if this Popish bigot is to be believed), have reason to tremble for their approaching doom.

I am naturally led to select some quotations, in proof of this.

"The Almighty" (says he, p. 43,) "is jealous of whatever injuries are offered to his servants, and takes upon himself the judgment of their cause. Though, for the proof of their zeal, and for their greater crown, he permits their enemies for awhile to exercise their tyrannical power over them, yet in his wisdom he reserves to himself a time, in which he will revenge the evils done to them, and severely punish their persecutors. Not only former ages furnish a great number of known instances of such punishments, but the word of God openly declares such to be the tenour of the divine economy,

Will not God, said our Saviour, revenge his elect who cry to him day and night: and will he have patience in their regard? I say to you that he will quickly revenge them."

Again, he says, (p. 45,) "The Almighty, by his power, carries on his Church, through the period of time he thinks fit to allot it; and, in its progress, punisheth its opposers and enemies. When that period of time finishes, and the seven vials are poured out, and the punishments executed, then follows the general judgment; after which, the saints will enter soul and body into the temple of Heaven. Almighty God is patient in his anger, and waits for the conversion of his undutiful and rebellious children, but their obstinacy arms at last his justice, and compels him to strike. *The Lord is a jealous God, says the Prophet, and a revenger; the Lord is a revenger and his wrath: The Lord takes vengeance on his adversaries, and he is angry with his enemies.*"

After shewing how God inflicted vengeance on all the emperors of Pagan Rome, who supported idolatry and cruelly persecuted the Christian Church, in the first age, he speaks of the visitations of God, in the second age, upon Arius, whom he calls "the ambitious apostate, and proud heresiarch," and likewise of the avenging hand of God upon those emperors who favoured the doctrine of Arius.

He next gives an historical account of the fall of ancient Rome, with its empire, and shews, "how the Roman people, conformably to the text of Scripture, *were drenched with their own blood,*" in consequence of their forefathers having shed, in their persecutions, *the blood of God's saints.*

In describing, also, "the history of the fifth age of the Christian Church," he observes, (p. 163,) "It is well known that the Reformation, introduced by Luther and other new teachers, has had too much share in the spilling of blood for the cause of religion. We don't pretend to produce an account of all the individuals that have suffered by their hands. The History of the Reformation, in many cases, relates only in general the massacres committed on the Catholics. The Anabaptists in Germany opened the cruel scene, very soon

after the birth of the Protestant religion. They were actuated with such rancour against those whose communion they had left, that in 1525 they plundered the country, set fire to the churches and monasteries, and murdered the priests, monks, and noblemen. (Arnoldus Mesov. Hist. des Anabap. Dupin.) The Calvinists, on another hand, wherever they came, committed unheard-of violences and barbarities. Dreadful was the tragedy in France, Holland, in some parts of Germany, &c. Nicholas Froumentau, a reformed minister, confesses that the Calvinists massacred, in the province of Dauphiné only, two hundred and fifty-six priests and one hundred and twelve monks and friars. (Des Financ. de France). In Holland we find that nineteen priests and religious men were taken by the Calvinists in Gorcum, and after being made to suffer many insults, were hanged for their religion at the town of Bril, on the same day; in 1572. (See their History in W. Estius, also Batavia sacra).

England also shewed itself very forward in persecuting those who were attached to the ancient faith. Sir Thomas More, lord high chancellor, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, two illustrious ornaments of the nation and distinguished assertors of the Catholic religion, were beheaded in 1535, for refusing to subscribe to the spiritual supremacy which Henry VIII. usurped over the Church in England. Besides, that despotic and cruel monarch put to death thirteen abbots and priors, about seventy-seven monks and religious persons, and many of the laity. (Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation.)

"Violent was the persecution in Queen Elizabeth's reign; it was even aggravated with severities used in the heathenish times, as tortures were sometimes applied to the generous victims before they were allowed to receive the stroke of death. There have been found to have suffered death *for the testimony they held* in this reign, at least one hundred and twenty-four priests, and fifty-seven lay-persons; besides others who perished in prison. Under King James I. though the persecution somewhat abated, it did not cease. No less than twenty-seven persons of different denominations were put to

death for the Catholic faith in this reign. Charles I. was naturally of too humane a disposition to incline to persecution; but such was the iniquity of the times and the importunity of malevolent persons, that he was forced away with the tide, and ordered the execution of the penal laws against his Catholic subjects. Twenty-two were sacrificed in this period. The temper of the times was nearly the same during a part of Charles II's reign, and such unhappily was his compliant disposition, that twenty-four persons were put to death for the Catholic faith, and many died in prison. Thus the annals of England are stained with the blood of many of its own subjects immolated to the cause of religion. (See a particular account of these persecutions in the 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' &c.)"

Next, speaking of the persecutions against those who had embraced the Catholic faith, in different parts of the East Indies, under the ministry of St. Xavier, and other missionaries, he adds, (p. 167,) "We have now seen who they are *that have been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held*. These Martyrs are the objects represented under the fifth seal. As those, who suffered by the hands of the Protestants, appear to be the first in time, we may fix the fifth epocha, or commencement of the fifth age of the Church at the year 1525, or at the rise of Luther's Reformation, about the year 1520.

"We must further observe, that the blood here spilt in the cause of religion is a remarkable characteristic of this fifth age; as before that period, for eight or nine hundred years, few are to be found who suffered for the faith.

"We now proceed with the text. *And they* (the above-mentioned Martyrs) *cried with a loud voice, saying: How long, O Lord, (holy and true) dost thou not judge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?* How long, O Lord, do you defer judging our cause, you, who are *holy*, and must detest the cruelties exercised upon us; you, who are *true*, and have told us, you will revenge the injuries done to your servants? *Will not God revenge*, says Christ, *his elect, who*

cry to him day and night; and will he have patience in their regard? I say to you, that he will quickly revenge them. (Luke, xviii. 7, 8). The Martyrs, therefore, prefer their complaints to the throne of God, requesting the judgment of their cause, not in a spirit of revenge, but that the justice and sanctity of God, who is *holy and true*, may be vindicated."

Now follows the most singular exposition of Scripture, which, perhaps, was ever obtruded on the Christian world. "Wonder, O heavens! and be astonished, O earth!"

"*The sounding of the fifth Trumpet.*—Apoc. chap. ix. ver. 1. *And the fifth Angel sounded the trumpet, and I saw, says St. John, a star fall from Heaven upon the earth, and there was given to him the key of the bottomless pit.*—Ver. 2. *And he opened the bottomless pit: and the smoke of the pit arose, as the smoke of a great furnace: and the sun and the air were darkened with the smoke of the pit.*—Ver. 3. *And from the smoke of the pit there came out locusts upon the earth: and power was given to them, as the scorpions of the earth have power:*—Ver. 4. *And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree: but only the men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads.*—Ver. 5. *And it was given unto them that they should not kill them; but that they should torment them five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man.*—Ver. 6. *And in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and they shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them.*—Ver. 7. *And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold: and their faces were as the faces of men.*—Ver. 8. *And they had hair as the hair of women; and their teeth were as of lions.*—Ver. 9. *And they had breast-plates as breast-plates of iron; and the noise of their wings was as the noise of chariots of many horses running to battle.*—Ver. 10. *And they had tails like to scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had over them*—Ver. 11. *A king, the angel of the bottom-*

less pit, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon: in Latin Exterminans, (that is, Destroyer.)

"Here is a description of the rise and progress of the Reformation. This trumpet begins with announcing to us the fall of a star from Heaven; a very just emblem of the apostasy of Luther, who, in quality of a priest and religious man, is styled a star, but renouncing his faith and vows, in which he had hitherto virtuously lived, may truly be said to have fallen from heaven. This star fell upon the earth, that is, upon the Church, compared to the fixed solid earth, because she was then in a state of peace.

"Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, a bold man and vehement declaimer, having imbibed erroneous sentiments from the heretical writings of John Huss of Bohemia, took occasion, from the publication of indulgences promulgated by Pope Leo X. to break with the Catholic Church, and to propagate his new errors in 1517, at Wittemberg in Saxony. He first inveighed against the abuse of indulgences; then he called in question their efficacy; and at last totally rejected them. He proceeded to broach new opinions, contrary to the Catholic doctrine; as, that remission of sins was not founded on contrition, but on faith alone; that good works were not necessary for salvation; and other tenets, which will occur in the sequel. He threw off his religious habit, renounced the solemn vows he had made to God, abandoned his cloister, and returned to the world. He declaimed against the supremacy of the See of Rome, and condemned the whole Church, pretending, as if Christ had abandoned it, that it wanted reforming, as well in faith as discipline. Thus this new Evangelist commenced that fatal defection from the ancient faith, which was styled "Reformation," and which afterwards overspread so large a part of Western Christendom. Such was the dismal alarm sounded to the Church by the fifth Trumpet.

"The fifth Seal exhibited to us only a particular interesting circumstance of the Reformation, but now we shall see that the Trumpet unfolds its whole history.

"There was given to him the key of the bottomless pit, (ver. 1.) To St. Peter were given the keys of Heaven, but to Luther is given the key of the bottomless pit, or Hell. Alas! what a woeful difference, and what disparity is here indicated in the characters and functions of the Apostle and the Reformer! Christ assured St. Peter, that he and the other Apostles, who had quitted all to follow him, should at the last day, sit on twelve seats judging the twelve Tribes of Israel, (Math. xix. 28.) But Luther, instead of meriting such a happy pre-eminence in Heaven, by having renounced all temporal enjoyments for Christ, unfortunately retracts the renunciation he had made, returns to the world, and therefore is cast down like a fallen star, from Heaven to earth, forfeiting the glorious crown he had seemed before to grasp in his hands. To St. Peter Christ gave a super-eminent power, and heavenly function: To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in Heaven, (Matt. xvi. 19.) But how opposite is the power and function of Luther! namely, to open the bottomless pit, or infernal abyss, from whence flowed a stream of calamities that fell upon the kingdom of Christ on earth. Our Saviour said to St. Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, (Matt. xvi. 18.) But Luther boldly opened the bottomless pit, or the gates of Hell, to endeavour to prevail against that Church. St. Peter was constituted by Christ the chief pastor of his whole flock; Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, (Joan. xxi. 16. 17.) said Christ to him. But our Reformer, by his own authority, declared himself head and ringleader of a multitude of sectaries, who, like devouring wolves, have laid waste the fold of Christ.

"And he opened the bottomless pit: and the smoke of the pit arose, as the smoke of a great furnace, (ver. 2.) Luther therefore opened the door of Hell, and there issued out a thick smoke, as from a great furnace. What can this thick smoke be, but a strong spirit of seduction, which had been hatched in Hell,

or had the Devil for its parent, and which, at Luther's opening Hell's door, immediately burst out. Impregnated with this *steam*, or spirit of seduction, he brought forth a doctrine, big with delusion and error. And as the steam he imbibed was hot, as coming from a *great furnace*, he propagated his doctrine with heat, violence, and insolence. 'I now declare, (says he, speaking to the bishops,) that for the future I will not vouchsafe you so much honour, as to submit myself or doctrine to your judgment, or that of an angel from Heaven.' (Preface to his book, *adversus falso-nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*.) He wrote a book which he entitled, 'Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist,' meaning the bull of his condemnation by Pope Leo X: this book he concluded with these words: 'In the same manner that they excommunicate me, I excommunicate them again.'

"The other Reformers imbibed the same hot *steam*, that issued out of the infernal abyss. They in consequence broached new doctrines, which they propagated and defended with such heat and vehemence, as to occasion every where seditions and insurrections, which they seemed to glory in.

"*And the sun and the air were darkened with the smoke of the pit*, (ver. 2.) The spirit of seduction, denoted by the smoke of the pit, produced a multitude of erroneous doctrines, that *darkened* the light of faith, signified by the *sun*, and the purity of morals, indicated by the *air*. The light of faith, which is the word of God, may well be represented by the *sun*, the great luminary of the universe, according to that of Psalm cxviii. 105. 'Thy word, O Lord, is a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths.' And as the *air* is the spring of man's respiration and life, it may be a just type of morality, which gives spiritual life and worth to all human actions. One principal design of the Reformation was, to free men from two troublesome restraints, of subjecting their understanding to the mysteries of faith, and of being bound down in their actions to the strict laws of morality. The new Teachers preached up a hitherto unheard-of 'Evangelical liberty,' as they styled it, by virtue of which they were masters to model their

belief and practice, as it suited their inclinations. In pursuance of this commodious doctrine, they dissected the Catholic Faith, till they reduced it to a mere skeleton; they lopt off the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist, the divine Christian sacrifice offered in the mass, confession of sins, most of the sacraments, penitential exercises, several of the canonical books of the Scripture, the invocation of saints, celibacy, most of the general councils of the Church, and all present Church authority; they perverted the nature of justification, asserting that faith alone suffices to justify man; they made God the author of sin, and maintained the observance of the Commandments to be impossible.

"These and other errors were taught by most of the modern Reformers; and they all agreed in renouncing all submission to the Church of Rome. Hear what Luther says, in the preface to his book *de abrogandâ Missâ privatâ*. 'With how many powerful remedies and most evident Scriptures have I scarce been able to fortify my conscience so, as to dare alone to contradict the Pope, and believe him to be Antichrist, the bishop his apostles, and the universities his brothelhouses.' In his book *de judicio Ecclesiæ de gravi doctrina*: 'Christ takes from the bishops, doctors, and councils, both the right and power of judging controversies, and gives them to all Christians in general.' Lastly, hear his modest censure on the Council of Constance, and those that composed it. 'All John Huss's articles were condemned at Constance by Antichrist and his Apostles,' (meaning the Pope and Bishops), in that synod of Satan made up of most wicked sophisters; and you, most holy Vicar of Christ, I tell you plainly to your face, that all John Huss's condemned doctrines are Evangelical and Christian, but all yours are impious and diabolical.' Many more instances might be brought of this head-reformer's extravagant opinions and assertions; but these may suffice.

"To enumerate the errors of all the Reformers would exceed the limits of this work, I shall therefore only add the principal heads of the doctrine of Calvin and the Calvinists:

viz. 1. Baptism is not necessary for salvation; 2. likewise good works are not necessary. 3. Man has no free will. 4. Adam could not avoid his fall. 5. A great part of mankind are created to be damned, independently of their demerits. 6. Man is justified by faith alone; and that justification, once obtained, cannot be lost, even by the most atrocious crimes. 7. The true faithful are also infallibly certain of their salvation. 8. The Eucharist is no more than a figure of the body and blood of Christ.—Thus was the whole system of faith and morality overturned.

“The above short detail shews a palpable reason, why our modern apostles set such a value on their new discovered principle of ‘Evangelical liberty,’ as it opened to them so spacious a lawn, in which they could range at their ease. The hardships of mortification, the painful restrictions of penance, were not to be admitted into these Elysian fields: the sensual appetites claimed here their right of abode. All Church-authority was banished from this realm of liberty. They professed themselves judges of every thing relating to religion, and its foundations and fences they levelled at their pleasure. Tradition they totally abolished; and though they could not reject the whole canon of the Scriptures, as being universally acknowledged to be the word of God, they had however the presumption to expunge some books of it, that did not coincide with their own opinions; and the rest they assumed a right to explain as they thought fit. Hence followed various arbitrary explications of the most important texts, which became so many fountains that issued out troubled streams of doctrine. But this was a natural consequence. For, if a man consults only himself, his passions and conceits will certainly dictate to him what may serve for their own gratification, and which must of course contradict the doctrine of Revelation, which tends to bridle them. What wonder then, if the comments and glosses of these new interpreters have so much *obscured* and disfigured the face of religion? Moreover, to complete the work, and to conciliate people’s minds more easily to their innovations,

they pretended to charge the old doctrine with absurdities and errors, as if Christ had suffered his Church to be totally eclipsed and lost; whereas he had told his Apostles, and in them their successors, the pastors of his Church: *Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world*, (Matt. xxviii. 20.) But it plainly appeared that the objected absurdities and errors had no reality, and were no more than misrepresentations contrived on purpose.

“In this view how many notorious falsehoods were published, which are still kept up, concerning the Catholic worship of relicks and images, concerning confession of sins, indulgencies, purgatory, &c? And thus again they endeavour to throw a cloud over the face of the Catholic religion. From what has been said it appears then fully, how *the sun and the air were darkened with the smoke of the pit*.

“*And from the smoke of the pit there came out locusts upon the Earth*, (ver. 3.) From the smoke of the abyss is generated a swarm of *locusts* that disperse themselves over the Earth: the meaning of which is, that spirit of seduction denoted by the *smoke* of the abyss, raised up a number of sectaries or reformers, as they called themselves, who spread themselves into all parts of the Catholic Church. Luther was first intoxicated with this delusive spirit which presently after insinuated itself into Carlostadius, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Melancton, Bucer, Muncer, Calvin, Henry VIII. of England, Cranmer, and many others. Being of the nature of *locusts*, these Reformers were unconnected, acknowledged no subordination among themselves, and even quarrelled with one another. They all taught different doctrines, and scarce agreed in any other thing, but in their endeavours to destroy the ancient faith, and corrupt the Christian principles of morality. In this indeed they jointly exhibited a vehement eagerness equal to the voracity of locusts. ‘Heretics are compared to locusts, (says St. Jerom,) because locusts are a species of insects extremely hurtful to mankind, as they occasion famine, eat up the harvest, and even strip the trees and vines,’ (in cap. 13. Osee). The new doctrines, being calculated to

gratify the vicious inclinations of the human heart, diffused themselves with the rapidity of an inundation. Frederic, elector of Saxony, John Frederic, his successor, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, became Luther's disciples, and their respective states followed their example. Gustavus Ericus, king of Sweden, and Christiern III, king of Denmark, declared also in favour of Lutheranism. It likewise got footing in Hungary, and spread itself by degrees into Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburgh, Holstein, &c. Poland, after tasting of a great variety of doctrines, could pitch upon none, but left to every individual the liberty of choosing for himself. Four cantons of Switzerland received Zuinglius's Creed, at the Conference held at Bern in 1528. These cantons afterwards making alliance with Geneva, exchanged their doctrine for that of Calvin. And now, of the thirteen cantons that compose the states of Switzerland, six of them are Protestant. Munzer, a disciple of Luther, deserting from his master, set up for Doctor himself, and, with Nicholas Stork, gave birth to the sect of Anabaptists, which was propagated in Suabia and other provinces of Germany, in the Low Countries, &c. Calvin, a man of a bold, obstinate spirit, artful and indefatigable in his labours, in imitation of Luther commenced also Reformer. He procured his new tenets to be received at Geneva in 1541. After his death the same doctrine was carried on by his successor Beza, and it made its way into several provinces of France, where its professors obtained the appellation of Huguenots. It insinuated itself into some parts of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and became the established religion of Holland. Calvinism was also imported by John Knox into Scotland, where, under the name of Presbyterianism, it took deep root, and overspread the whole face of that kingdom. In fine, to such a degree prevailed the licentious spirit of dogmatizing, that every one thought he had an equal right with Luther, Zuinglius, or any other, to interpret the Scriptures and form his own creed. On this principle the different sects split into a multitude of parties following different heads, who every day coined new religions. Thus the body of Anabaptists alone became di-

vided into at least thirty-two different sects. By these divisions the principal leaders found themselves frustrated in the attachment of their proselytes, who upon every occasion left them to follow new teachers.

"But, among the reformed nations, none drank more deeply of the cup of error, than England. This country had been, during many centuries, conspicuous in the Christian world for the orthodoxy of its belief, as also for the number of saints it had sent to Heaven. But by a misfortune never to be sufficiently lamented, and by an unfathomable judgment from above, its Church shared a fate which seemed the least to threaten it. The lust and avarice of one despotic sovereign threw down the fair edifice, and tore it off from the rock on which it had hitherto stood. Henry VIII, at first a valiant asserter of the Catholic faith against Luther, giving way to violent passions which he had not resolution to curb, renounced the supreme jurisdiction which the Pope had always held in the Church, presumed to arrogate to himself that power in his own dominions, and thus gave a deadly blow to religion. He then forced his subjects into the same fatal defection, and thus opened the way to his successors to pour in upon the kingdom the whole spirit of the Reformation. Once introduced, it soon overspread the land. Being, from its nature, limited by no fixed principle, but depending upon the arbitrary determination of every private man, it has since taken a hundred different shapes, in Protestants, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Arians, Moravians, Hutchinsonians, Methodists, and many more. Such was the swarm of *locusts* that eclipsed the face of religion, which had long shone so bright in that island.

"In taking a general view of the infinite variety of new teachers that sprung up at this time, jarring among themselves, corrupting the genuine sources of faith and morals, and deluding their fellow-creatures with poisonous novelties, one cannot help observing with how great propriety they had been long before described by the Apostle St. Jude in the following manner. *These are clouds without water, which are*

carried about by winds; trees of the autumn, unfruitful, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own confusion; wandering stars, (Ep. v. 12, 13.) They are first compared to *clouds without water*, or that promise water, but *are carried about by winds* without giving any; that is, these new teachers promise genuine apostolical doctrine, which they call Reformation, but it is mere deceit. They are termed *autumnal trees, unfruitful, twice dead, plucked up by the roots*, that is, they are become barren Christians, bringing forth no fruit, because, like *dead trees plucked up from the earth*, they are banished out of the Church, from which they ought to receive their spiritual life and nourishment. They are like the *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their confusion*; they are turbulent, proud, rebellious against their mother, the Church, which they furiously assault with slander, calumny, and blasphemy. Lastly, like *wandering stars*, they wander about in mazes of imaginary knowledge, passing from one error to another, without knowing where to fix their steps.

"*And power was given to them* (the locusts), *as the scorpions of the earth have power*, (ver. 3.) These locusts have peculiar qualities, not to be found in the common locusts. They have the power of scorpions, that is, a power of stinging. This allegory shews, that the reformed sects, here signified by the locusts, were impowered, by the Divine permission, to sting, or violently to torment those of the Catholic Communion, whom they had left, and against whom they conceived and still retain a rancorous animosity.

"*And it was commanded them* (the locusts) *that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree: but only the men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads*, (ver. 4.) The locusts, or the sects of Protestants, are not allowed by Almighty God to hurt *the grass of the earth*, that is, the whole body of the common faithful; nor *every green thing*, as the Greek and Latin texts express it, that is, not all the vegetable greens that shoot up higher

than grass, denoting the princes, magistrates, and others superior in dignity to the commonality; nor are they allowed to hurt *every tree*, or all the pastors with their clergy. In short, they are not permitted to pervert the whole or any of the three different classes of the faithful, namely, the ministers of religion or the clergy, the princes and persons in civil dignity, and the common people.

"The expression, however, of all or *every one* indicates that some of all these sorts will be ensnared. In general, they will not be allowed to seduce any others of the Church's members, *but those who have not the sign of God on their foreheads*, that is, those who are not solidly fixed in their faith and morals, but suffer themselves to be influenced by their passions, by worldly views or pleasures, and who consequently have not courage to withstand the temptation, nor to fight under the banner of religion. These have not *the sign of God on their foreheads*: they cowardly give up this characteristic sign, the Cross of Christ, with its persecutions, self-denials, and mortifications: they go over to their enemies who have seduced them, and from them learn to have a horror of imprinting that salutary mark on their foreheads, which was so much the practice of antiquity, as Tertullian informs us. 'At every step, (says he,) whenever we come in or go out, when we put on our clothes or shoes, when we wash, when we sit down to table, when we light a candle, when we go to bed—we imprint on our foreheads the sign of the Cross,' (Lib. de Coron. Milit. c. 3.)

"From the present text of the Apocalypse under our consideration, it appears then, that, though Almighty God, in the unsearchable ways of his wisdom, allows the Protestant sects to have a certain degree of power, yet in his goodness he puts a bridle to this power, and prescribes to it determinate limits, lest it should over-run too great a part of Christ's kingdom. *Hitherto shalt thou come, and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves*, (Job. xxxviii. 11.) Mahometism and the Greek Schism had already torn away a large body of the Catholic community:

but the Supreme Ruler of the universe had promised, that his Church should stand as visible as if seated on a mountain, and that Hell itself should not prevail against it. These assurances are a secure bulwark to it, and though the Sovereign Disposer has permitted the new-generated poison of the present age to infect some part of his Church, the greater part is preserved sound and untainted, and shines forth with brighter lustre to the world. Many large countries rejected the Reformation, and stedfastly adhered to the ancient faith, and even in most of those kingdoms, which adopted the innovation, there are still remaining, by the providence of God, some that refuse to bow their knees to Baal, and though few, like grapes remaining after the vintage, they stand as a testimony against the others, who ought to have maintained the same truth with them.

"Besides the above-mentioned particulars, we ought not to overlook another check, which has been put upon the efforts of the Reformation. While powerful princes and great armies undertook to propagate the Protestant religion, the Almighty thought fit to interpose, and gave to the Catholic powers sufficient strength to oppose the invasion, and has ever since supported them in such a manner as to make them a match against their enemies.

"*And it was given unto them (the locusts), that they should not kill them; but that they should torment them five months; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he strikes a man, (ver. 5.)* Here is a second curb put upon the power of the reformed societies. In the last article we saw, that their power of seducing others to embrace their doctrine was confined to those *who had not the sign of God on their foreheads*, or who by their depravity or bad dispositions lay open to such seduction.

"Such was the extent of their power in the spiritual way.

"Here the boundary of their temporal power is fixed.

"They are not permitted to *kill them*, that is, utterly to destroy and exterminate the Catholics.

"In the first heat of the Reformation, such was the violence of the Protestants, that they breathed nothing less than war and destruction. In their progress they murdered great numbers of the Catholics, demolished their churches and monasteries, and carried devastation through the land. But the Almighty, in his eternal wisdom, had resolved to restrain their power, and, by his Apostle St. John, had long ago published his decree, contained in the present text, that they should not proceed beyond such limits which he had fixed. Their expectations were consequently frustrated, and they were obliged to sit down with less extent of conquest than they had grasped in their thoughts. In a similar manner, Almighty God had often permitted his favourite people the Jews to be harassed and oppressed by the foreign nations their enemies, but he never suffered them to be extinguished.

"In fine, experience shews that, notwithstanding the Protestant Princes have taken such pains to extirpate the Catholic religion in their respective states, they have not been able to compass it. The Catholics have been grievously oppressed, and many even put to death: nevertheless, though much reduced in some of those countries, by the divine protection they still there subsist.

"*But it was given unto them (the locusts), that they should torment them five months.* The kind of torment here meant, is expressed in the subsequent words: *And their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he strikes a man.* Certainly a very sharp torment or pain, to be like that occasioned by the sting of a scorpion. This comparison shews plainly that, though the power of the Protestants was limited by the providence of God, they were nevertheless allowed to molest and persecute those of the Catholic Communion. They were restrained, as we have just now seen, from exterminating the body of the Catholics, but by their persecutions, seditions, and wars, they cut off many, and the rest were made to suffer extreme hardships and miseries. In those countries, where the sovereigns embraced the Reformation, they generally seized upon the revenues of the Church, and thus reduced the

clergy to the pinching anguishes of want. The bulk of the Catholics were forced to adopt the religion of their princes, or fly their native country, or, in fine, be doomed to lie under the most heavy oppression. Are not these sufferings well compared to *the sting of a scorpion*? Besides, who is ignorant of the cruel persecuting laws, that were in those times enacted in most of the Protestant states against the Catholic religion? Among the rest, who is not acquainted with the severe laws of England and Ireland? They are such, as to be owned by those of their own people who have a sense of humanity, to be barbarous, to be a scandal to the Christian religion, and a disgrace to civilized nations. In consequence of these statutes, how many persons have been stript of their estates? How many individuals have been imprisoned, banished, even put to death? How many families have been reduced to beggary, and ruined? Are not such hardships and oppressions to be deemed severe, and as acute in the pain they cause, as *the stinging of a scorpion*?*

"It is said, this torture was to last *five months*. Here the Almighty prescribes a term to that great severity, the Protestants were permitted to exercise against the true servants of God. This term is five months, or one hundred and fifty days, giving thirty days to every month, which way of reckoning by round numbers is usual with the Prophets.

* Have the Catholics, then, no stings in their tails, like *scorpions*? Are there no "severe laws" against Protestants in Popish countries? Are they never "imprisoned, banished, or put to death"? Where are they tolerated in the manner that Catholics are in this kingdom? Restraining laws we have—but they are never put in force, till the safety of the state, or personal security requires it. Whereas, in Popish Inquisitions, at this very day, Protestants are racked and murdered, not for sedition nor rebellion, but for refusing to kneel down in the streets, while the Host is passing, or for daring to speak a word against the Catholic religion. Wherever *that* is established, if a man had the courage to revile it, as this Catholic bishop does our religion, no punishment would be thought bad enough for him.

But it is to be observed, that days, in the prophetic style, are sometimes used for years. Thus it is in that celebrated prophecy in Daniel of seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, understood by all the interpreters to mean four hundred and ninety years, which were to run from the term mentioned in that prophecy to the death of Christ the Messiah. (Dan. ix. 24.) Another instance of the same way of reckoning occurs in the book of Ezekiel, where God speaks to that prophet in this manner. *Thou shalt take upon thee the iniquity of the house of Juda forty days. A day for a year, yea, a day for a year I have appointed to thee,* (Ezek. iv. 6.) On this principle, therefore, as the space of five months, taken according to the common acceptation, gives too short a period to comprise all the transactions mentioned in our text concerning the Reformation, we shall count one hundred and fifty years for the one hundred and fifty days contained in five months; during which time the locusts were impowered to *sting*, that is, the Protestants were allowed to torment so rigorously the Catholics. If, then, the one hundred and fifty years be counted from the year 1525, about which time those violences began to take place, they will bring us to the year 1675. Some part of the history of the Reformation relating to this period has been presented to us in the preceding texts, and the rest will appear, as we shall presently see, in the subsequent verses of our prophetic author.

"*And in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and they shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them,* (ver. 6.) Here is a lively picture of the extreme miseries, that the Catholics suffered in consequence of the violence and fury with which the Reformation was carried on. And does not the history of those times evince the truth of it? On one side, many, finding themselves rifled and stripped of all that belonged to them, actuated by the *sting* of misery, equal to that of the *scorpion*, took up arms to recover by force what they could not hope for by any other means. The poor and distressed also, who received their subsistence from the charitable and constant liberalities of the monasteries,

being deprived of all resource by the dissolution of those houses, drew courage from despair,

Una salus victis nullam speraro salutem.—*Virg.*
Despair of life, the means of living shews.—*Dryd.*

and fled to arms, though unjustifiably; and joining with the others, *sought for death* in battle, rather than die by hunger, though perhaps it was not their lot *to find that death*.

“Likewise, how miserable was the condition of that multitude of religious people of both sexes, who were ejected from their houses, and robbed of all their possessions! They had abandoned the world, and consecrated themselves to God in solitary retreats. Unacquainted with manual labour, and unaccustomed to every art of providing subsistence, they solely attended to the service of God and to the preparing of themselves for another world, depending entirely for the support of present life on the pious benefactions of those persons, who, to promote the Divine worship and all the heroic virtues of the Christian religion, had endowed those houses with suitable revenues. But now a storm, like a hurricane, rose and burst upon them. One would have thought that an army of Goths or Danes had invaded the land. The recluses saw themselves assaulted by brutish ruffians, and forcibly driven out of their sanctuaries. They saw their churches violated, and, together with their houses, plundered and pulled down to the ground. Thus were those ancient nurseries of piety and learning reduced to a heap of ruins; a lasting monument of the spirit that guided the Reformation.

“By such inhuman proceedings a great number of religious men and women saw themselves stript of every commodity of life. They saw themselves exposed to the inclemency of the weather, to the distresses of want, to the insults of an insolent populace worked up to enthusiasm; in fine, they found themselves turned out into a wide world, without knowing which way to direct their steps. What wonder, if in this destitute forlorn condition they should rather *desire to die*, than drag on so wretched a life? Had the executioner

been sent instead of a commissioner, and required the lives of all those who refused to sacrifice their conscience to the new religion, they would have esteemed themselves happy in acquiring the crown of martyrdom. But to be exposed to all sorts of temptations, to lasting wretchedness, and to see the Church of God trampled under foot, were more cruel afflictions to them than death. These, however, they were condemned to bear, and to be deprived of the blessing of giving up their lives. *They desired to die, and death fled from them.*

“*And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle*, (ver. 7.) Here is expressed the spirit of sedition and rebellion, that animated the Reformers and their proselytes. Luther proclaimed himself the Leader in this as well as other articles of the new Discipline, and he levelled his first attacks against the Church. He set out with inveighing against all Church government, he declaimed against the Clergy, and especially against the superiority of the Pope, though but a little before he had professed all obedience to him. Having gained for his disciple and protector, John Frederick, elector of Saxony, he kept no further measures, but declared open war against the bishops and the whole ecclesiastic order. In his rage he composed a book on the subject, in which he said: ‘All those who will venture their lives, their estates, their honour, and their blood in so Christian a work, as to root out and destroy all bishopricks and bishops (who are the ministers of Satan), and to pluck up by the roots all their authority and jurisdiction in the world; these persons are the true children of God, and obey his commandments’ (—*Contra statum Ecclesiæ et falso nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*). Again, in his book against Sylvester Prieras: ‘If, (says he,) we dispatch thieves by the gallows, highwaymen by the sword, heretics by fire; why do we not rather attack with all kinds of arms these masters of perdition, these cardinals, these Popes, and all this sink of the Romish Sodom which corrupts without ceasing the Church of God, and wash our

hands in their blood.' Thus preached the new Religionist, nor did he cease, till he got the bishops expelled from Saxony, and Hesse, and their authority extinguished."

The episcopal historian then goes on to shew, that "the heats occasioned by Luther's seditious doctrine were so much fomented and increased by his disciples and other new Reformers, that they soon kindled into a flame," which burst forth in Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, and burned with great fury. And in "England, Denmark, and Sweden," (he observes) "the Reformation was introduced by the kings themselves, who compelled their subjects to receive it.

"Thus, (adds he,) *the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared to battle.*

"And on their heads (the heads of the locusts) *were as it were crowns like gold*, (ver. 7.) The locusts bore upon their heads something that resembled crowns, which crowns appeared to be of gold. This allusion points at the pride and presumption of the new Sectaries, who assumed to themselves the high function of preaching the Gospel, without having any lawful mission; they pretended to be the true ministers of God, without shewing any credentials from him; they set up for Apostles of Christ, but could not produce his commission. Luther styled himself, 'by the Grace of God, Ecclesiastes or preacher of Wittemberg,' (Epist. ad falso nominat. Epis.) He treated with the utmost contempt the Pope and the bishops, as we have already seen. As to the fathers of the Church, he said 'they were all blind,' (lib. de serv. Arbit.) And he concerned not himself what Ambrose, Augustin, the Councils, or practice of ages said,' (lib. contra Regem Angliæ.) Then he boasted of his own merits: 'The Gospel, (says he,) has been so fully preached by us, that even in the times of the Apostles it was not so well understood,' (Serm. de Evers. Jerusalem.) In this manner Luther set a crown upon his own head, and the whole troop of Reformers after him crowned themselves in the same manner. Such crowns,

the work of self-conceit and arrogance, could not be real crowns, but only *as it were crowns*, that is, the mere appearances of such.

"It was said of the Apostles of Christ: *Thou shalt establish them princes over all the earth*, (Psalm xlv. 17.) The conversion of numberless nations to Christ by their ministry had merited to them the title of Princes and the right of wearing crowns. The Reformers claimed the same honours. But the crowns of the Apostles were of pure *gold*, because their doctrine, which flowed from Christ the source, was pure and genuine. Whereas the doctrine of our modern Apostles, being derived from no other source but their own invention, and being contrary to the doctrine preserved in that Church which was planted and formed by the primitive Apostles; such new-devised doctrine, I say, can be nothing else but *error* and *delusion*, and consequently their apparent crowns are not of pure but of *counterfeit gold*, or as the text expresses it, they are *like to gold*, or really mere tinsel.—These crowns on their heads also shew clearly their general spirit of independency.

"And their faces (the faces of the locusts) *were as the faces of men*, (ver. 7.) The locusts appeared to St. John with faces of men. Here is marked out the delusive appearance of the modern Sectaries. They pretended that faith had been adulterated, and that the morals of mankind were guided by erroneous principles. They therefore assumed the province of rectifying both, by preaching up a 'Reformation.' For this purpose these 'Reformers' framed new systems of religion. They proposed each of them their own creed for settling the articles of belief, and a new plan of morality for the direction of human actions. All this was devised, as they alleged, to correct the defects and errors of the Catholic doctrine. Thus they put on *the faces of men*, that is, they announced themselves as teachers of orthodox and holy doctrine: and by this means they deluded those *who had not the sign of God upon their foreheads*, that is, the careless and vicious. But it soon appeared that these *faces of men* were no more than visors resembling human faces, that the specious name

of 'Reformation' was only a mask made use of to instil their treacherous doctrine with more ease and subtlety. The mask was soon removed, and their doctrine, when applied to the true criterion, was evidently discovered to be false. It disagreed with that which Christ had deposited with his Apostles, and which he charged them to impart to the rest of mankind; at the same time assuring them and their successors that, in order to enable them to execute their commission with fidelity, *he would himself be with them to the end of the world*: (Matt. xxviii. 20.) And that *the spirit of truth should abide with them for ever*: (John xiv. 16, 17.) That the new-invented maxims were of bad tendency, the effects soon proved. Instead of a Reformation, they produced a general licentiousness. This appeared in the seditions, insurrections, and violences committed on all sides. Complaints were also heard from all quarters, of excessive looseness of manners. The Lutheran magistrates of several imperial cities in Germany petitioned the Emperor, Charles V., to re-establish by his authority auricular confession, as a check upon the then prevailing libertinism. And indeed it was highly probable, that from the pretended 'Christian liberty' which was then preached, a deluge of vice would have diffused itself, had not the civil power stepped it to stem it.

"Erasmus, though no zealous advocate for the Catholics, could not help observing the degeneracy of morals brought on by the change of religion: 'Take a view,' says he, 'of this Evangelical people' (the Protestants)—'Perhaps 'tis my misfortune; but I never yet met with one, who does not appear changed for the worse.' (Epist. ad Vultur. Neoc.) And again: 'Some persons,' says he, 'whom I knew formerly innocent, harmless, and without deceit, no sooner have I seen joined to that sect' (the Protestants) 'but they begun to talk of wenches, to play at dice, to leave off prayers, being grown extremely worldly, most impatient, revengeful, vain, like vipers tearing one another.—I speak by experience.' (Ep. ad Fratres infer. Germaniæ.)

"And they (the locusts) had hair as the hair of women,

(ver. 8.) In describing the heads of the locusts, from the forehead or the face, which resembled that of man, St. John proceeds to the back-part, which is found covered with *hair like women's hair*. This latter allusion, unhappily for the Sectarics, betrays too plainly their sensual disposition towards that sex, their shameful doctrine on that score, and the scandalous example of their practice. Luther, in despite of the vow he had solemnly made to God of keeping continency, married, and married a nun, equally bound as himself to that sacred religious promise. But, as St. Jerome says, 'it is rare to find a heretic that loves chastity.' Luther's example had indeed been anticipated by Carlostadius, a priest and ring-leader of the Sacramentarians, who had married a little before; and it was followed by most of the heads of the Reformation. Zuinglius, a priest and chief of the sect that bore his name, took a wife. Bucer, a religious man of the order of St. Dominick, became Lutheran, left his cloister, and married a nun. Œcolampadius, a Brigittin monk, became Zuinglian, and also married. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had also his wife. Peter Martyr, a canon regular, embraced the doctrine of Calvin, but followed the example of Luther, and married a nun. Ochin, general of the Capuchins, became Lutheran, and also married. Thus the principal leaders in the Reformation went forth preaching the new Gospel, with two marks upon them, apostacy from faith and open violation of the most sacred vows. The passion of lust, it is also well known, hurried Henry VIII. of England into a separation from the Catholic Church, and ranked him among the Reformers.

"And their teeth (the teeth of the locusts) were as of lions, (ver. 8.) In the preceding article we had a figure of the incontinency of the Reformers, here we are presented with a symbol of their avarice. It was not sufficient to have named them *locusts*, and to intimate their ravenous temper by the greediness of those insects: they are here represented with *teeth of lions*, ready to devour with violence whatever prey they can come at. What is more known than the truth of this representation? Did not the Protestants, wherever they

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got footing, pillage the churches, seize the church-possessions, destroy the monasteries, and appropriate to themselves the revenues? Such was the case in Germany, in Holland, in France, in Switzerland, in Scotland, as we have seen in relating the Protestant wars in those countries. In England likewise what a scene of rapine! Without descending to a detail of particulars, it may be sufficient to say, that in the reign of Henry VIII. were suppressed no less than 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and of chantries and free chapels 2374, (Baker's Chron.); the lands and revenues of all which were confiscated to the king. Is not this, to devour with *lions' teeth*? The same course of rapine was carried on under Edward VI. which swept away what remained from the preceding reign. Dr. Heylin, in the preface to his History of the Reformation, speaking of this Prince and his reign, says: 'Such was the rapacity of the times, and the unfortunateness of his condition, that his minority was abused to many acts of spoil and rapine, even to an high degree of sacrilege, to the raising of some, and the enriching of others, without any manner of improvement to his own estate.' The hungry courtiers began their sacrilegious rapine, by plundering the images and shrines of the saints, and seizing upon the ornaments, plate, and jewels of the churches. These spoils not being sufficient to glut their *leonine* avidity, they invaded the bishoprics, which they stripped of many of their possessions. The detail of all which may be seen in the abovementioned History of Dr. Heylin.

"And they had (the locusts had) *breast-plates as breast-plates of iron*, (ver. 9.) In the two last articles we saw the spirit of incontinency and avarice of the Reformers and their societies; here we are presented with a picture of their obstinacy, under the figure of iron-breast-plates. Whoever is not joined with the Protestants in their persuasion, knows full well that their obstinacy is incredible in defending their doctrine, that for that purpose they are not ashamed to make use of any arguments though ever so frivolous, inconsistent or absurd, and to asperse the Catholic Communion with slanders, misrepresentations, and calumnies. It also appears, from the account we

have before given of the wars of the Reformation, that the Protestants were always ready to maintain their new adopted religion at any rate, even with arms, and at the risk of their lives. In that view the Protestant princes of Germany entered into a league offensive and defensive against the Emperor Charles V., rose up in arms, nor could they be prevailed upon to sit down quiet, till they had established the Reformation. Thus they carried *breast-plates of iron*. Many other wars succeeded in Germany between the Catholics and Protestants. After a similar manner, in other countries, where the Reformation got footing, its abettors so obstinately supported it by sedition, disturbance, and war, that no peace could be purchased from them, till their religion was admitted and ratified by the laws of the respective kingdoms. Such was the case, not only in Germany, but in Holland, in several provinces of France, in Scotland, &c. And I believe every one presumes such would be more or less the case at this day, if any danger threatened the Reformation.

"And the noise of their wings (the wings of the locusts) was as the noise of chariots of many horses running to battle, (ver. 9.) Here the Prophet points at the turbulent, murmuring, clamorous disposition of the Reformed, properly expressed by the noise of the wings of the locusts, which was as loud as *the noise of chariots of many horses running to war*. Did not that inflammatory spirit of uneasiness, loud murmur, and sedition, appear in all those kingdoms, where the Reformation was received? How often has the public tranquillity been convulsed by that baleful poison? What fatal disturbances have been raised, and what troubles have princes sustained to quell them? Some of the sects are inspired with a relentless hatred to government; their complaints are clamorous and unceasing, and they brood upon mischief, devising how to destroy superior power, and reduce all mankind to a level.* What intestine

* All this is abundantly exemplified in the conduct of the Catholics, and other turbulent spirits, at this very day.

murmurs have been heard, what tumultuous scenes have been seen in England, Scotland, and France?

"On another hand, the unhappy effects of this uneasy and ungenerous disposition have been severely felt by those of the Catholic Communion living in Protestant countries. Though all the reformed sects agreed in preaching up 'Christian liberty,' the Catholics have seemed to be envied the least share of that invaluable blessing. Without any just provocation, alarming outcries have been often thrown out against them: they have been threatened with the rigour of the laws, and persecution even has sometimes been set on foot. We see then that the loud *noise of the wings of the locusts*, like the loud rumbling noise of *chariots of many horses running to battle*, very fitly represents that restless turbulent spirit, which continued in the reformed societies, and banished peace from governments as well as from the Church of Christ."

"The Continuation of the History of the Fifth Age.

"*Apoc: chap. ix. ver. 10. And they (the locusts) had* tails like to scorpions, and there were stings in their tails, and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had† over them (ver. 11,) a king, the angel of the bottomless pit; whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek, Apollyon; in Latin, Exterminans, (that is, Destroyer.)*

"Here the locusts are said to have tails, that resemble whole scorpions, with stings in them. This allegory describes very emphatically the angry temper of the Protestants, and their implacable enmity to those of the Catholic Communion. Whoever presumes to abridge that 'Evangelical liberty,' which is their idol, they immediately reclaim against the attempt, chaff, and threaten, like *scorpions*, to sting. They still retain a good share of that factious and violent tem-

* In the Greek text, *have*.

† In the Greek, *have*.

per, with which they first propagated their religion, and which during this period breaks out on different occasions, to the disturbing of public peace and alarming the Sovereigns, as experience sufficiently shews. On another hand, though the Reformation, as we have seen, was settled and secured, and in some kingdoms is the religion of the State; yet it retains a persecuting spirit against those of the ancient faith. The Protestants shew they are armed with *scorpions' stings*, with which they angrily threaten, and they have still a *power to hurt* very sorely. They have, in this latter period, increased the number of inhuman laws made before against the Catholics; and these laws, perhaps indeed less severe than the former, have been at times more or less put in execution. In the preceding period they were allowed to *torment mankind*, (ver. 5): but in the present period it is said, *their power is to hurt mankind*. The expression of *hurting*, as it is of a milder import than that of *tormenting*, indicates an abatement of their first rage, and a more moderate behaviour towards those they repute their enemies. This is a blessing, for which the Catholics offer just tribute of thanks to the Almighty, and acknowledge the humanity of those from whose hands the favour immediately comes. But, notwithstanding the moderate and generous disposition of some, there are always other malevolent individuals, who cannot wholly drop that animosity they imbibed in a misguided education, and will endeavour to force the magistrates to the execution of the laws against their fellow-creatures. But this disposition of Providence ought to be received by the sufferers in the view for which it is designed, namely, for quickening and maintaining their zeal; and it brings with it this comfort, that the suffering of persecution has always been the characteristic of the Church of Christ. *If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you*, (John, xv. 20.)

"We have now seen the Prophetical History of the Reformation. The description is full and circumstantial, and takes in the period of 300 years. In the first place was exhibited to us its rise; then the general character of it; and thirdly the nature and degree of its power. These accounts are com-

prised in the six first verses of the ninth chapter. Then follows the description of the character, temper, and spirit of the chief Reformers and their proselytes, with the successive alteration of their power, as settled by the Almighty hand. Which account is traced out in the verses 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, in an admirable manner by the progressive description of the locusts from head to tail. This allegorical delineation is drawn with such exquisite art, that it cannot, we believe, be equalled by any thing produced from profane writers. But of this extraordinary picture there yet remains to be exhibited the last stroke of the prophetic pencil, which is, *And they* (the locusts) *have over them a king, the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon; in Latin, Exterminans, (that is, destroyer.)* St. John, after giving us the history of the surprising revolution made in the Church by the Reformation, closes it by letting us into the secret of the means, by which it was contrived, was carried on, and is still preserved. He tells us, the locusts or the people of the Reformation have over them a king, who is an angel of the bottomless pit, that is, an angel of Hell, or a Devil. Here then we see the original contriver and director of the whole work. Here we see who has been through the whole progress their prompter, their chief, and their king. But who would envy them such a king? or who would chuse to be a subject of such a sovereign? The name of this infernal spirit is even given; he is called *Abaddon, or Exterminator, Abolisher, Destroyer.* By this name his character is sufficiently clear. As pride is attributed to Lucifer, and to other fiends are ascribed special qualities; so here the evil spirit, who is the king of the Reformation, is distinguished by the character of exterminating and destroying. One cannot but lament the misfortune of the Protestants, in voluntarily admitting over them such a king, and enlisting under his banner. A second misfortune is, they have been too faithful in their allegiance. We have already given a sufficient relation of their violent proceedings in the different countries where the Reformation got entrance. We specified some part of the conspiracies, tumults, rebellions, and

civil wars it gave rise to, and the subversion of states which ensued. Could such scenes be conducted by any other but the king *Abaddon, the destroying Angel?*

“ With respect to the Church, how many articles of faith, which are reckoned essential to religion, have they not *exploded*, as may be seen in the Council of Trent? The holy sacraments also, those channels of divine grace, have they not *reduced* to two, or rather one, viz. baptism; the Eucharist, in the opinion of many of their sect, containing nothing more than mere bread and wine? Even baptism itself is affirmed by some of them to be only a ceremony, not necessary for salvation. The rites and ceremonies, which form the exterior part of religion, and which greatly contribute to raise its dignity and by impressing an awful respect on the minds of the faithful increase their devotion, the Reformation has almost entirely *abolished*. They have *exterminated* the spiritual jurisdiction of the See of Rome, acknowledged in all foregoing ages, and they have chosen *Abaddon* for their governor and king, instead of Christ's vicegerent. In the same manner they have *exploded*, part of the canonical Scriptures, Church-traditions, councils, fathers, the ecclesiastical canons and discipline. They have *abrogated* the most noble and august sacrifice which Christ bequeathed to his Church, and thus have reduced the Christian community to a worse condition, than either the mosaic or patriarchal state, by leaving it without any sacrifice at all. They have also *abrogated* most of the exercises of mortification, so much recommended by our Saviour and practised by the Apostles and all antiquity; such as fasting, abstinence, continency, penance, self-denial, &c. They have *exterminated* confession, that great bridle to licentiousness and vice. They have *condemned* religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; that path of Christian perfection, which has been trodden by thousands, and entitled so many of them to the beatitude of saints. They have *destroyed* monasteries, pulled down churches, trampled under foot the images of Jesus Christ, of his holy mother and his saints. They have *robbed* the faithful of that

salutary and comfortable help they had always found in the invocation of the saints, by whose intercession, through the merits of Christ, such plentiful graces and blessings have derived to men. They even dared to profane with sacrilegious hands the sacred remains of the Martyrs and confessors of God. In many places they forcibly took the saints' bodies from the repositories where they were kept, burned them, and scattered their ashes abroad. What can be a more atrocious indignity? Are parricides or the most flagitious villains ever worse treated? Thus, among other instances, in the year 1562 the Calvinists broke open the shrine of St. Francis of Paula, at Plessis-les-tours, and finding his body uncorrupted fifty-five years after his death, they dragged it about the streets, and burnt it in a fire which they had made with the wood of a great crucifix: as Billet and other historians relate.

"Thus at Lyons in the same year, the Calvinists seized upon the shrine of St. Bonaventure, stripped it of its riches, burnt his relics in the market-place, and threw his ashes into the river Saone, as is related by the learned Possevinus, who was then in that city. The bodies also of St. Irenæus, St. Hilary, and St. Martin, as Surius asserts, were treated in the same ignominious manner. Such also was the treatment offered to the remains of St. Thomas, arch-bishop of Canterbury, whose rich shrine, according to the words of Stowe in his annals, 'was taken to the King's use, and the bones of St. Thomas, by command of Lord Cromwell, were burnt to ashes, in September, 1538, of Henry VIII the thirtieth.' Thus the Reformation waged war against the dead and against the elect of God; as if sanctity had become infamous, and to have spilt their blood in the cause of Christ was now to be judged criminal.

"Thus the facts evince the universal devastation carried through the Christian Church by the reformed religion. And thus it appears who was the founder of that new religion, its architect, its king, namely, *the angel of the bottomless pit, Abaddon, the exterminator*. One may however

further observe that, in order to manifest more clearly the accomplishment of this prophecy about the locusts, Almighty God seems to have ordained that the chiefs of the Reformation should themselves give testimony of it. Luther, the primary head, avowed and proclaimed to the world, that he had had a conference with the Devil about some articles of the religion he was then devising, that he had been convinced by the arguments of that spirit of falsehood, and directed in the determinations he should take. Thus he opens that famous colloquy. 'Some time since,' says Luther, 'I awaked from my sleep, and behold the Devil (who had made it his business to occasion me many sorrowful and restless nights) began a dispute with me in my mind. Dost thou hear, said he, most excellent doctor? Dost thou not know, that thou hast said private masses almost every day for fifteen years together? and what, if in those masses thou hast practised downright idolatry, &c.?' (Lib. de Missa privata et Sacerdotum Uctione). Luther answers the Devil in defending what he had done. The fiend pretends to prove his charge, by telling Luther, he must have been guilty of idolatry, because he had no true faith at that time, and consequently no ordination. By which it seems that the Devil's attempt was to persuade the Reformer, that there was neither true faith nor true ordination in the Catholic Church at that time, when he professed himself a member of it and said mass. As if the Church of God had been extinguished, notwithstanding the solemn promise of Christ that *the gates of hell should never prevail against it*. The spirit of darkness urges likewise the unlawfulness of saying a mass, in which no one communicates but the priest: as if Christ had given any precept on this head. But without taking the trouble to confute minutely the Devil's argument, I presume every sensible man will allow that Luther, instead of giving any assent to them, should have rejected them with contempt, as so many certain impostures, and charged his antagonist with being the known enemy of truth. He should have rebuked him at once with the words of our Saviour: 'Away with thee, Satan,' (Matt. iv. 10). 'Thou wast a mur-

derer from the beginning, and thou stood not in the truth; because truth is not in thee: when thou speakest a lie, thou speakest from thy own, for thou art a liar, and the father of lies.' (John, viii. 44). But the Reformer, instead of foiling his adversary with these arms, gives him up the victory, allows his own conviction, and triumphs in the imaginary discovery; concluding thus: by these means 'We are freed from private masses, and from the ordination of bishops—Let them consider how they can defend their Church.' And from that time he desisted from saying mass.

"Zuinglius in like manner, while he was in great perplexity and deep meditation how to explode the real presence in the Eucharist, was furnished with an argument for that purpose by a nocturnal 'Monitor, whether black or white he did not remember;' as he relates himself, (Lib. de subsidio Euchar.)

"The whole explication here given of the allegory of the locusts, we presume, appears so consonant to the History of the Reformation, that the propriety of it will not be denied. Nor ought the author to be censured for presumption, since he is not the first who has thus applied that prophecy. La Chetardie did so, about the end of the last century. Bellarmine did the same towards the end of the century before, and others had preceded him, as he testifies. In general it appears from the writers of that period, that no sooner did the numerous tribe of Reformed Religionists spring forth, than the Catholics, as if by a sudden inspiration, judged they saw the locusts of the Apocalypse.

"The short sketches we have given from the general History of the Reformation for the illustration of the text, we hope will be deemed sufficient, especially considering the limits of this work. It would be endless to attempt a narrative of all the different parties, into which the Reformation has been split. They are not even to be enumerated. But one may in general observe, that its case is the same with that of all the heresies in preceding ages. *Variation* was always their character. Thus it was with the Arians, with the Pelagians, with the Eutychians, &c. They never remained steady to

their first plan of religion, nor could they keep their proselytes within the boundaries they first prescribed to them.

Not content with what they pretended to have reformed, they would still go on reforming, without knowing where to stop. But indeed what wonder that people are bewildered, when they have no sure guide to direct them! The Church, which Christ had commanded every body to *hear**, they had left, and thus become solitary, they wandered in unknown paths into which the spirit of seduction led them. Faith is one, but error easily multiplies, having the Devil for its parent, who hates truth and concord. *Abaddon*, who contrived and conducted the Reformation, was also the author of its divisions and contradictions, and the *lying spirit in the mouth of its prophets*. (III Kings, xxii. 22.) He still continues to actuate it in the same manner; and hence we see rise up every day new teachers, who, dissatisfied with what they find established, are ever proposing amendments and innovations. What idea can we form of a religion or an institution composed of such a number of dissonant parts, and,ameleon like, varying its colours every day? What idea, I say, can we form of it, but of a monster, such as St. John describes it, under the type of a frightful deformed locust, which has a man's face, a woman's hair, a lion's teeth, an iron-breast, and a scorpion for its tail? In fine, the licence of judging for himself being the claim of every member of the new religion, what could it produce, but what experience shews to have really happened, a defection from all religion? Some, uneasy under any restraint, declare themselves indifferent to every form of doctrine and worship, and are styled 'Latitudinarians;' others, contenting themselves with the simple belief of a God, renounce all divine Revelation, and are denominated 'Deists' or 'Free-thinkers;' and some are even said to be sunk into mere Materialism, that is, to believe no future state at all. 'They who have made bold with one article of faith,' said St. Vincent of Lerins in the fifth cen-

* Matt. xviii. 17, and Luke, x. 16.

tury, 'will proceed on to others: and what will be the consequence of this reforming of religion, but only that these refiners will never have done, till they have reformed it quite away?' (Common. c. 29).

"How different is the government and proceeding of the Catholic Church! Founded on the *Rock* which is Christ, and governed by him according to his promise, she is always *uniform* and *unanimous* in her doctrine. *Her faith is always the same*. She received it from her divine founder, and she preserves the sacred depositum *inviolable*. *No jarring opinions, no innovations are allowed on that head*. When a dogmatical point is to be determined, she speaks but *once*, and *her decree is irrevocable*. The first general Council of Nice declared her faith against the Arians; the Council of Constantinople against the Macedonians; the Council of Ephesus against the Nestorians; that of Chalcedon against the Eutychians: the second of Nice against the Iconoclasts; and so through the whole period of the Christian era. These solemn determinations have remained *unalterable*, and *will ever be so*. Pursuing *invariably* the same course, she assembled in a general Council at Trent in 1545, where having examined the principal articles of the new reformed doctrine, she pronounced them *heretical*, and *condemned* them as such: and *this decision will stand an unperishable monument of the true faith against the Protestant religion, to the end of the world*.*

* After the above paragraph, the following remarks have been added to the former editions by the Roman Catholic professors of the college at Maynooth, (as I suppose,) because the new edition (from which I have taken all the preceding extracts) was printed by their bookseller.

"Let us take notice that *the angel of the bottomless pit*, who *was the author of the Reformation*, is by our Prophet named in Hebrew, Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon. Now, though the Greek word Apollyon means the same as the Hebrew word Abaddon, viz. *destroyer*, nevertheless, from the extraordinary conciseness used throughout the whole Apocalypse, one may certainly conclude, that St. John means something particular in giving the name of that hellish fiend

"Ver. 12. *One wo is past*. The period of three hundred years assigned to the power of the locusts, being expired,

in two languages. Let us now observe, that the Hebrew language preceded the Greek. That fiend therefore acted his part first, under his name Abaddon, in *setting up the Reformation*. Let us now take a view of the second of his mischievous operations, under the name of Apollyon, or destroyer. To see this, we need only cast our eyes on what has lately happened in several countries, as in Germany, and especially in France, where Apollyon has raised such a spirit of licentious liberty, wild independence, and introduced such a decay of religion, that immense evils have followed. What excesses! what extravagancies have thence originated! What blasphemies against the Almighty! What contempt of his worship! both divine and human laws trampled under foot! What Luciferian pride and arrogance in rebelling against their Creator and their God, and even denying his existence. What impious and inhuman proceedings against his vicerent! Combinations and conspiracies against sovereign princes and governments! Persecutions against the ministers of religion! Cruelty in despoiling their fellow-creatures of their property, and spilling their blood by murders and massacres!

"These are the horrible devastations operated by that infernal fiend under his character of Apollyon, destroyer, which make up the second part of his agency. In the primitive ages of Christianity, Satan upheld idolatry, and opposed with all his might the establishment of the Christian religion. He raised cruel persecutions against the Christian proselytes: but finding himself foiled and defeated in all his efforts, he then turned his hellish malice another way, and set to work to divide the Christians among themselves, to suscite intestine quarrels, heresies, flames of mutual hatred, and exciting them to persecute one another with furious violence. In a similar manner that angel of the abyss, whom Satan has employed as his agent in this fifth period of the Christian Church, in his character of Abaddon, effected his first *destructive work of the Reformation*. When stopped, and not allowed to make further progress in that pursuit, he then, in the latter part of his agency, has machinated and contrived to throw division among the Catholics themselves in different countries, particularly in that ancient and once flourishing Catholic kingdom of France; and it is well known throughout the world, what pernicious effects have been the consequence."

St. John then adds: *one wo is past*. Before the angel sounded the fifth trumpet, three woes were pronounced to follow the sounding of the three last trumpets, namely, fifth, sixth, and seventh. And now the Prophet tells us that the first of these woes, which was announced by the fifth trumpet, is past. This woe therefore is the calamity occasioned by the swarm of locusts. I leave it to the reader to determine, whether the breaches and desolation made in the Church of Christ, as we have seen, by the Reformation, be not truly a dismal woe, and worse than any that has happened in the foregoing ages.

"When one reflects that, of the three hundred years allowed to the reign of the locusts, there remain only fifty or fifty-five to run*, one cannot but wish with an earnest heart, that the people represented by those insects would enter into a serious consideration of that circumstance. What a happiness! if, during this short remaining interval, some part of them at least would submit to see their errors, and the great mischief that has been done to the Church by their revolt against it. It is full time to lay down all animosity against their ancient mother, think of a reconciliation, and ask to be received again into her bosom. She is an indulgent parent, and her arms are always open, even to her rebellious children, when they come in tears to implore her forgiveness. They should be sensible

* In the new edition published in Dublin, the Romish editors of Maynooth take care to observe, in a note, that "this work was first printed in the year 1771, in order to draw our attention to this extraordinary prophecy, (founded, as they would have us suppose, on the infallible word of God,) that Protestants have now no more than *nine*, or, at the utmost, *fourteen* years, to maintain their usurped authority, and heretical religion; and that all of them, who do not, before the expiration of that period, renounce their errors, and become members of "the holy Catholic Church," have nothing "to look for but fiery indignation, which shall devour God's adversaries." I trust in God, however, that his pretended Vicar upon the earth will be found a "false prophet" in his prediction, as I am persuaded he is in many of his doctrines.

that Christ is not only the protector of his beloved spouse the Church, but also the avenger of the injuries done to her. This power he has frequently exerted. The four preceding ages furnish us with the most evident proofs of it, under the respective four vials of the wrath of God. She was revenged in the punishment of her persecutors, the Roman Emperors, in the first age. The Arians, who impugned her faith and harassed her cruelly in the second age, felt also the avenging hand of the Son of God whom with his Church they had blasphemed: after sore calamities, they were doomed to sink into annihilation. The third age exhibited to us a most conspicuous exertion of *the two-edged sword of Christ*, in the destruction of the cruel idolatrous Romans, for their having spilt the blood of his and his spouse's children. The fourth age was distinguished by the punishment of the Greeks, for their rebellion against the same Church, and the world still sees them groaning under slavery for their inflexible obstinacy. Such having been the conduct of the supreme Guardian of his Church through the course of all the Christian ages, is it not an object of consideration highly interesting to the Protestants, lest some such disaster should also be their fate? The Saviour of mankind waits with patience for the return of his strayed sheep, but their obstinacy at last forces his hand to strike. Unhappy children of the Reformation! refuse not to hear the wholesome advice of the Prophet Isaiah: *Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found: call upon him, while he is near*, (lv. 6). Hear the voice of God speaking to Israel, and make the application: *Return, O virgin of Israel, return to these thy cities*, (Jerem. xxxi. 21.) And again: *Be converted (O house of Israel) and do penance for all your iniquities; and iniquity shall not be your ruin. Cast away from you all your transgressions, by which you have transgressed, and make to yourselves a new heart, and a new spirit: and why will you die, O house of Israel? For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God; return ye, and live*: (Ezech. xviii. 30, 31, 32). But if, deaf to all admonitions, they continue hardened in their own ways, what

remains to be done but to lament their misfortune, and in bitterness of soul turn our eyes from the pouring out of the following vial ?

“ *The pouring out of the fifth Vial of the Wrath of God.*

“ Apoc. chap. xvi. 10. *And the fifth angel, says St. John, poured out his vial upon the seat* of the beast: and his kingdom became dark, and they gnawed their tongues for pain.—* Ver. 11. *And they blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and wounds, and did not penance for their works.*

“ Here the angel pours out the fifth vial of the wrath of God on the *seat of the beast*, or rather, according to the Greek text, on the *throne of the beast*. We have observed, in the prelude to the vials, that the general term *beast* has a double meaning, signifying idolatry or heresy, accordingly as either, like to a wild *beast*, makes its ravages in the Church. In the first and third ages it denoted idolatry, the subject of the history of those two ages. Here it is the image of heresy, the heresy of the Reformation, the characteristic of the fifth age. Upon the *throne* therefore of this *beast* the vial is poured out, that is, upon the kings and governors of the Protestant states, as they are the persons that sit, vested with power, upon the *thrones* of those heretical kingdoms. They, however, are themselves subordinate to their chief *Abaddon*, who, as was specified in the text of the trumpet, commands over all, and sits upon the *throne* as king paramount. The Protestant states become, of course, involved with their princes in the calamities poured out from the vial, as we shall see presently.

“ But furthermore we may observe that, besides the single and general appellation of *beast* used here to express heresy, the Prophet exhibits to us, in the trumpet of this age, a particular *beast*, by which he represents and describes the heresy of the Reformation, namely, a locust monster, which is partly locust, partly human, partly leonine, and partly scorpionic.

* In the Greek, *the throne*.

“ Besides the obvious propriety of the above explication of the vial, a further argument may be adduced in confirmation of it. Though the different prophecies of the Apocalypse are involved in obscurity, yet one may observe the inspired writer generally throws in some glimpses of light to guide the solicitous inquirer. Thus may be remarked a fixed connection between the trumpets of the different ages and the respective vials, of which we have already taken some notice. This consists in the use of the same expression in the trumpet and vial of the same age; which naturally leads us to the distinguishing of the object on which the vial is poured. This object, if not precisely the same as mentioned in the trumpet, it has at least a direct relation to it. In general, the vial has for object the guilty part, which is to be punished, and which is always pointed out in the trumpet. Examples will elucidate the present observation. In the first trumpet it is said, that hail and fire, mixed with blood, were cast upon *the earth*. In like manner the first vial was poured out upon *the earth*. The same term, *the earth*, occurring in both, indicates that, as the trumpet described the persecutions exercised by the Roman emperors and magistrates on the Christian part of *the earth*; so these emperors and magistrates, who are the guilty part of *the earth*, and plainly alluded to in the trumpet, are the object of punishment on which the vial is poured. After the same manner, at the sounding of the second trumpet a great fiery mountain was cast into *the sea*: and the second vial is also poured out upon *the sea*. From whence one may collect that, as Arianism, signified by the fiery mountain, infected a third part of the Christian *sea*; so upon the Arians, who are there exhibited as the guilty part of *the sea*, the vial is poured. Again, the third trumpet announced a great star, burning like a torch, falling upon the *ivers and fountains of waters*. In like manner the third vial is poured upon *the rivers and fountains of waters*. The trumpet here describes the desolation carried by the Barbarians through the guilty heathen Roman empire: therefore

on this same empire is the vial poured. Lastly, at the sounding of the fourth trumpet the *sun* was smitten; and the fourth vial was also poured out upon the *sun*. The allegory, used here in the trumpet, denotes the schism of the Greeks: upon them therefore, as the guilty, the vial is poured; or rather, it is poured on the instrument of the scourge, to fit it for execution. This constant relation observed between the above-mentioned trumpets and vials, holds equally between the fifth trumpet and vial. In the trumpet we see the locusts are ruled by a *king*, the *angel of the bottomless pit*, whose name is *Abaddon*. The vial is poured out upon the *throne of the beast*, and his *kingdom* becomes dark. On one side then we have the *king* of the locusts: on the other side we have the *throne* and the *kingdom*. Hence appears the connection between the fifth trumpet and fifth vial. This vial therefore is poured out upon the princes and states of the locust-kingdom.

"In fine, we saw in the first trumpet the Roman Emperors persecuting the Christian religion; and the first vial was poured upon them. In the second trumpet we saw the Arians rebelling against the Church; and the second vial was poured upon them. In the third trumpet we saw the Roman empire declining on account of its idolatry and enmity to Christianity; and the third vial was poured upon it, to extinguish it. In the fourth trumpet we saw the revolt of the Greeks against the Church; and the fourth vial punished them. In the fifth trumpet we see the Protestants revolting against the Church; upon whom then must the fifth vial fall?

"The vial being poured upon the *throne of the beast*, it flows down from thence over his whole kingdom, the realm of the Reformation. For *his kingdom became dark*, and *they gnawed their tongues for pain*. But with respect to the nature of this punishment, we shall be entirely silent, and leave it to be disclosed by the event. We shall only remark that, to judge from the expression of the text, the scourge seems to be severe, and we are extremely sorry it will be so ill re-

ceived: *And they blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and wounds (or sores), and did not penance for their works.*"

Not satisfied with all the virulent invectives here cast so profusely upon the Protestants, this *holy* Bishop thought it needful to repeat them in the conclusion of his History, wherein he gives a summary account of the Reformation.

"The remarkable transactions (says he, p. 454) that characterize the fifth age, are more generally known" (than those of the preceding ages) "as they stretch to our own times, and touch us more nearly. The Reformation, first set on foot, and propagated by Luther, about the year 1520 or 1525, is the epoch of the present age, the period of which to the pouring out of the vial consists of three hundred years, of which two hundred and fifty nearly are elapsed.* Many have been the troubles, as we have seen, which the spirit of novelty occasioned in different parts of Christendom. The mischief, which the eastern part had sustained by the defection of the Greeks, was afterwards brought upon the western by the Protestants. The Church of Christ sat bewailing the loss of a great number of her children; and she saw besides with unspeakable grief an endless train of disputes, dissensions, and animosities, the new heresies had given birth to. Several countries, particularly Germany, were subjected to great calamities, the consequence of wars that were kindled by the same fire. Dreadful violences were committed, and severe persecutions followed, in which many suffered death for their adherence to the ancient faith. Indeed what else could be expected, the work being carried on by the *angel of extermination*?"

"But though the persecutions be less rigorous in the present times, yet we cannot but lament to see the many temptations that lie in the way, to withdraw the weak, the tepid, the ambitious, and the covetous, from the right path, and engage

* In the new edition of this work we are reminded a second time, that "it was first printed in the year 1771."

them in an erroneous one that suits better their inclinations. Hence arises a deplorable spectacle to well-thinking persons, of so many that chuse to sacrifice their religion to some worldly advantages that are offered them, or to some disorderly passions which they can by their apostasy more freely gratify.

"The world was very sensible, that Christ had established his Church, fifteen hundred years before the existence of the Reformation, and that he had communicated his spirit to her, by which he had solemnly promised she should be guided through all ages. *I will ask the Father, said Christ, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, the spirit of truth And he will teach you all things,* (John, xiv. 16, 17, 26.) The reforming teachers came therefore fifteen hundred years too late, and as they presumed to publish a doctrine contrary to what was taught in the Church, its novelty became its own condemnation. Nevertheless they were resolved to make it pass upon mankind for divine truth. But to effect this, they should have ascertained it by the intervention of miraculous works, in the same manner as the Apostles had originally established Christianity. 'Let them prove,' said Tertullian, speaking of the heretics of his own time, 'let them prove themselves to be new Apostles.' 'let them produce their miracles.' (l. de præscrip. c. 30.) But the Reformers never were able to procure such a divine sanction.

"To supply this defect, and to acquire credit to their new systems, what measures did they take? They employed an artifice, (we are sorry to say it,) suggested undoubtedly by that *angel of the bottomless pit* who was their governor and guide, namely, to indulge human nature, by gratifying the passions, by allowing such freedom and latitude in the practice of virtue, as religion had never admitted. They banished at once all those mortifications which distinguished the Christian religion and were ordained by its author as the principal exercises to merit eternal life; such as fasting, abstinence, confession of sins, penance, &c. They pretended

that all these practices were of no signification, that they were even intolerable encroachments on Christian liberty, and that faith alone sufficed for salvation. By these means they let loose the human passions, they enfranchised man from all constraint, and in fine they boasted of having smoothed the way to heaven. But, *thy silver is turned into dross: thy wine is mingled with water,* (Isai. i. 22.): for, our Saviour had said: *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me,* (Matt. xvi. 24.) But, instead of the thorny way of self-denial and the cross, they opened a path strewn with roses. What wonder then, if so many took them for their guides, and espoused their maxims? Our Saviour again tells us, that *narrow is the gate, and straight is the way, that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it,* (Matt. vii. 14.) On the contrary, the new gossellers inform us, that the way to heaven is broad and easy; and they offer to conduct us through it with little or no difficulty, because, say they, our Saviour took upon himself the load of hardships, that should have been our portion, and has sustained them in our stead. But, *woe to them that sew cushions under every elbow; and make pillows for the heads of persons of every age to catch souls,* (Ezech. xiii. 18.) Thus a survey of the doctrine and practical maxims of the Reformers points out clearly to us the judgment we ought to pass upon their character, according to the criterion Christ has given us: *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit Wherefore by their fruits you shall know them.* (Matt. vii. 18, 20.)

"It would be matter of surprise, that men nursed in the bosom of Christianity could adopt and teach such unchristian doctrines, if we did not see the source of it, which lies in the malign influence of their perfidious instructor, *Abaddon*. He laid open the way to introduce into their minds the most absurd tenets, by separating them first from that Church, *the pillar and ground of truth* (1 Tim. iii. 15.), which had been constituted the repository of genuine doctrine and morality. We cannot but lament that the perfidious prompter prevailed

upon them to renounce the authority of that infallible guide, and to set up their own in its place; and thus he prepared them to receive his dictates, and to change the whole system of the Christian faith. But novelty in faith is an infallible mark of heresy. The doctrinal articles of Scripture are not to be interpreted by every man's private conceit, which would be infinitely various, but by the tradition derived from the Apostles and perpetuated by their lawful successors. For, as St. Vincent of Lerins observes, 'It is the part of true Christian moderation, not to impose one's own opinions upon posterity, but to adhere to what has been transmitted to us by our predecessors.' (comm. c. 9.) The same is urged very strongly by Tertullian: 'The Apostles,' says he, 'published the faith of the Gentiles, and constituted churches in every city; from which the other churches derived the first principles of faith and seeds of doctrine; and from which also other churches do daily derive in the same manner, or they could not possibly be true churches. For this reason then they have the reputation of apostolic, because they are the offspring of apostolic churches. For every kind must certainly be traced up to its original.' 'And on this account every other doctrine is to be deemed false and spurious, that is not conformable to the truth taught by these apostolic churches.' (de Præscrip. c. 20, 21.) And again: 'What was first delivered, was the doctrine of our Lord and of truth; what is of later date, can be no other than the tenets of falsehood, mere fictions. And this observation will stand firm and immoveable against all novel heresies, which labour under the consciousness of not having this antiquity to plead in their defence.' (ibid. c. 31.)

"But the licentious spirit of forming new tenets of faith and new rules of life, in this fifth age, not only invaded and set aside the general authority of the Church of Christ, but in particular bent its virulence and rancour against the Church of Rome. The reason was plain: because the special province of that Church is, to oppose all innovations in faith, and to suppress, as far as possible; the tares that spring up

among the good corn. Such all antiquity had acknowledged to be the charge committed to that Church. To that Church therefore the Reformers owed respect and obedience; to that Church, 'the greatest,' as St. Irenæus speaks, 'the most ancient and known to all, founded at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, which retains the tradition it received from them, and which is derived through a succession of bishops down to us. Shewing which we confound all who, any way out of self conceit, love of applause, blindness or false persuasions, embrace what ought not to be taught. For to this Church (of Rome), on account of its more chief presidentship, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful every where, address themselves,' (lib. 3. contra Hæres.). How happy might it have been for the Reformers of these late times, if upon cool reflection they had applied to themselves what St. Optatus in the fourth century spoke to the Donatist Heretics: 'You cannot deny,' said he, 'that you know the episcopal chair was first given to Peter in the city of Rome, in which first sat the head of the Apostles, Peter; which chair was one, that all others might preserve unity by the union they had with it, and lest the other Apostles should erect and defend chairs to themselves: so that now he is a schismatic and an offender, who sets up another against the only chair.' (lib. 2.)

"In regard to the vial of this age, we shall add nothing more, to what has been said of it in its place, than the following admonition. If the true servants of God, faithful members of the Catholic Church, observe that towards fifty years from the present date, the state of kingdoms and the course of public affairs seem to presage the approaching effusion of the fifth vial, accordingly as we have intimated, then *Go out from her, my people: that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues*, (Apoc. xviii. 4.): fly from the countries of wrath and perdition."

After such an audacious attack on the reformed religion, and such a plain developement of the author's opinions respecting the certain downfall of the Protestants, which, with all the confidence of an inspired prophet, he declares is just at hand, who can be so infatuated as to entertain the least doubt of the rancorous and irreconcilable hatred of the Papists towards us, and of their earnest design to destroy us, as "workers together with God," when the predicted time shall come for the accomplishment of his purposes?

In former times, when they were in fear lest the salutary laws against them (made solely for our *own defence*) should be enforced, they were cautious of publishing any thing which might give just cause of offence. But, as these laws have been gradually relaxed and repealed, their audacity also has gradually and proportionably increased; so that, of late years, they have not only revived their controversy with us, which had long lain dormant, but have bitterly inveighed against the established faith. Various tracts and books have been disseminated, in order to prepossess the public mind against the time when their projects may be ripe for execution. Meanwhile, it becomes us to be upon our guard against every attempt (however speciously coloured) of a vigilant and insidious adversary, whose malignant intentions towards our religion and government will admit of no doubt.

Let us only consider what influence even the common priests have over the Popish laity, and how much greater still their bishops and archbishops must have, and then we shall not be surprised at the most sanguinary deeds which they may be induced to commit, when encouraged by such a publication, from one of their highest order, and highest religious character, which has met with such approbation as to pass through four editions in the United Kingdom, and to be translated into different languages abroad, and which, there is every reason to believe, has been sanctioned by the College of Maynooth in Ireland.

In this last edition, the public are informed, that when it "was first presented to the public, it was variously received,

according to the various temper and disposition of its readers. Some did not hesitate to treat it with ridicule, as the production of a weak and visionary mind: others attacked it with objections of different kinds, none of which seem to carry with them very considerable weight. But the generality formed a very favourable opinion of it, and read it with equal satisfaction and edification. They were not a little struck by the new light, which the author seemed to have thrown on the mysteries contained, and the judgments denounced, in the prophetic book before us. Their attention was particularly excited by his *open declaration*, that, He apprehended some of the seven scourges there threatened, *were hastening fast to be inflicted on criminal and unrepenting nations;*" (that is, the nations in which Protestantism is established,) "*and a prophetic vial was soon to be poured out on guilty heads.*" He charitably therefore forewarned his readers, to seek by sincere repentance to avert, if possible, *the impending judgment*, or to be at least themselves prepared; and *not to fail to instruct their children* by every religious lesson, to be ready to receive, in the most Christian manner, *the approaching awful chastisement.*

"These salutary admonitions were thought, by those who were personally acquainted with the author, to come from him with singular propriety and authority; and few seemed better qualified to penetrate into the secret recesses of the Apocalypse than he was. Born with great natural abilities, which had been carefully improved from his infancy by an excellent education; blessed moreover with a heart formed for piety and virtue, he dedicated himself, at an early period of life, to the study and practice of religion. His virtue and learning soon became conspicuous, not only in the line of sacred literature, but alike in mathematical and astronomical. His sacred and theological literature acquired him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in the University of Paris, and his mathematical knowledge, the honour of fellowship of our own Royal Society and that of Berlin; and, yet young, he was furthermore raised to the episcopal dignity. This sacred

dignity he held upwards of forty years, during which period, he *fed his flock with the bread of life and understanding*, (Eccles. 15,) and maintained the faith and doctrine committed to his trust, sound and pure. When raised to the episcopal dignity, he then more than ever devoted himself to the study of holy Scripture. With a mind thus improved and enriched with abundant store of knowledge, he ventured to direct his labours and reflections to clear up, in some degree, the darkest perhaps of the sacred prophecies. He was not deterred from the undertaking, either by the difficulties and obscurity peculiar to the Apocalypse, or by the little success of others who had gone before him on a similar design. His plan appears to have been conceived with great judgment and penetration, and it has been executed with equal ability."

The editor then takes notice, that "although no pains were taken by the author or his friends to circulate his work, it soon found its way into foreign countries, particularly into France and Germany. A French translation of it was published in 1778, p. 159, &c. by a Benedictine monk, of the congregation of St. Mawrus, a congregation so well known by its literary labours. Of this order of religious men, the author was a member in the present English congregation of Benedictines. Soon after, it was translated into Latin by an English Benedictine monk resident at Paris; into German by L'Abbé Goldhagen, 1785, 3 vols, 8vo. and lately into Italian. We may judge in what esteem the original performance was held abroad, by the following extract from the periodical writings of a very judicious and learned author, L'Abbé Feller, universally known and esteemed in France and Germany for the zeal and success with which he has for many years defended the cause and interest of religion. Dated 1786, Sept. p. 106."—For the benefit of the English reader, it is thus translated:

"The work of Signior Pastorini is *the only good comment* which England has produced upon the Apocalypse. The nation has obligations to the author for having contributed to cause to be forgotten the extravagant notions of James I.

and the celebrated Newton, respecting this divine book. It is a learned and edifying performance. The theological and ecclesiastical matter interspersed throughout it, shed valuable lights upon the most mysterious of the sacred writings. The wonderful prophecies contained in it, being established upon authentic, striking, and public facts, inspire the Christian soul with Christian hope and fortitude, and afford a solemn testimony to the power and veracity of God. What remains as yet undisclosed *manifests itself already in a sensible manner; and the times we live in furnish a lively and faithful picture.*"

This delineation of his profound learning, of his exemplary moral and religious deportment, and of the favourable reception which his History of the Christian Church met with "in foreign countries," is, doubtless, intended to raise him so high in the estimation of the Catholics, that they may be assured of the speedy completion of the divine vengeance, which is to be inflicted on the Protestants, and which he positively maintains was predicted by St. John himself.

It is very observable, that bigots in religion generally "wrest the Scriptures," in the most unnatural manner, in order to favour their own peculiar system. This is particularly the case with Papists; and their false comments on most of the sacred pages may easily be confuted. But when they pretend to explain the mysterious passages of prophecy, there, a warm fancy and lively imagination have ample room to exert their powers, and it would be a difficult matter indeed to correct the mistakes occasioned thereby: for all that can be offered, on either side, upon so dark and abstruse a subject, will still be but mere conjecture.

This defender of the Catholic faith, therefore, taking advantage of that circumstance, has employed the utmost stretch of ingenuity, in accommodating the sacred text of the Apocalypse to his views, and has thereby rendered his explanation, in many places, very plausible to an ignorant and superficial reader; insomuch, that I cannot help applying what he has said of the Apocalypse (as it stands in Scripture) to his own

perverted interpretation—"It is drawn with such exquisite art" (or cunning) "that it cannot, I believe, be equalled by any thing produced from profane writers."

With equal justice, also, (only altering a few words,) I may apply to the Romish religion, which differs so widely from that of the Protestants, what he says of Calvinism, which is so contrary to Popery.

"The nature of" Popery "being so opposite to the" Protestant "religion, it has produced in its" votaries "a rancorous aversion to every thing belonging to the latter communion. The consequence of this can be no other, when once they have arms in their hands, but to spread desolation, and exercise cruelties upon those whose religion they hate. And such has been the real fact. It is impossible to read the History of the" Papists, "without being shocked at the disorders and barbarities committed by them," (p. 201); so that *the shapes of these locusts were like unto horses prepared to battle*.

And are they not now prepared, in like manner? Most assuredly—and they are only waiting for the time, when a Protestant Parliament may be so deluded, as to furnish them with those *arms* (I mean high posts in the army, navy, and legislature) wherewith they mean to destroy the nation which grants them.

It is true, this Popish writer, when he wished to shew that Luther, Calvin, and Beza, while propagating their religion, endeavoured to stir up the people against their lawful rulers, (that is, the Romish hierarchy, and the Princes who supported it,) pertinently quotes these words of St. Peter against them, "Be ye subject to every human creature for God's sake, whether it be to the King, as *excelling**, or to governors, as sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of the good, &c."

* The learned reader is desired to take notice of the translation here given of *ὑπερχον*, (*excelling*), which, in our English version, is very properly rendered, *supreme*; but this artful sophister was well aware, that if our King, or any other, was allowed to be *supreme*, this would militate against the

But, surely, nothing can be clearer from history than this, (and it has been proved in some of the preceding pages,) that when the Pope and his satellites have found any princes desirous of casting off their yoke, they have not only endeavoured to frighten them with bulls, but (armed with temporal, as well as spiritual power) they have excited subjects to wage war against those princes.

This Popish author produces Calvin as thus declaring his aversion to kings—"They are in a manner all of them a set of blockheads and brutish men"—and in another place, he says, "Princes forfeit their power, when they oppose God in opposing the Reformation; and it is better, in such cases, to spit in their faces, than to obey," p. 196. Dr. Walmesley also charges Theodore Beza (whom he calls "our modern Junius Brutus") with saying, "We must obey kings for God's sake, when they obey God; but otherwise, as the vassal loses his fief or tenure, if he commit felony, so does the King lose his right and realm also." Whether these Reformers made use of such expressions I cannot determine: but I call upon the most strenuous advocates for the Catholics to say, whether many of their polemical writers have not used much stronger language upon this subject; and whether each of them may not be styled, with greater justice than Beza was, "a modern Junius Brutus?" These words, therefore, of "the Right Rev. Dr. Walmesley" are infinitely more applicable to the works of several of his brethren, than to those of Beza or Calvin: "In these may be seen a hundred other assertions of the same nature, the natural tendency of which can be no other, but to arm subjects against their sovereigns, and to introduce anarchy and confusion into the world." And again, "What can be the purport of such doctrine, but to inspire a contempt for sovereigns, and to encourage the people to cast off their government, *under the cloak of religion?*" p. 196.

Pope's *supremacy*, and therefore he put a forced construction on the original word.

With pleasure, indeed, I subscribe to the following testimony this Catholic bishop has left behind him—"How different is this spirit from that of the first ages of Christianity!" The faithful then learned from the Apostles and their successors no other doctrine, but the doctrine of patience, humility, meekness, obedience to the sovereign powers; and these lessons they invariably adhered to. They said: "Our hopes are not fixed on the present world, and therefore we make no resistance to the executioner that comes to strike us." (S. Justin. Apol. ad Imper. Anton. pium.) They said: "We adore one only God, but in all other things we cheerfully obey you" (the emperors). (Ibid.) They said again: "We Christians pray to God, that he may grant to the emperors a long life, a peaceable reign, safety at home, victorious arms, a faithful senate, virtuous subjects, universal peace, and every thing that a man and emperor can desire." p. 193.

This is truly "sound doctrine"—a "doctrine according to godliness;" and if we are to believe this Popish divine, all his predecessors in the Church have acted in this peaceable and lamb-like spirit. "These," (says he, p. 191,) "during their whole ministry, had before their eyes the charge which Christ gave to his Apostles, *Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves*, which they all understood as an order to preserve the meekness and gentleness of *sheep*, whatever *wolves* or persecutors they might meet with. *And this rule they invariably followed.*"

But let the history of the present age decide, whether the Romish priests have not entirely *forgotten* this charge, and even *reversed* this rule—whether they have not proved themselves to be "*wolves* or persecutors," instead of *sheep*. Have not Fathers *Murphy* and *Roach*, and many others, appeared in the ranks of Irish rebels, dressed out in their canonical robes, leading their savage and blood-thirsty followers to every species of the most horrid barbarity? Were not several of the Protestants, (who had escaped death from the pikes or the guns of these merciless ruffians, but had fallen captives into their hands,) "led forth as sheep for the slaughter," and inhumanly

butchered? In short, what age has not witnessed an exhibition of the same tragical scenes!

Let no one, therefore, be imposed upon by specious assurances, that the Popish *wolves* are now turned into *lamb*s, whose nature inclines them to suffer patiently, and not to hurt or destroy a single-creature, though a supposed or an avowed enemy.

Fraud and imposture have been always characteristic of the Romish Church. As David said of some in his days, so we may say of the Papists: "They put forth their hands against such as be at peace with them—they have *broken their covenant*. The words of their mouth have been *smoother than butter*, but *war* was in their heart—their words have been *softer than oil*, yet have they been *drawn swords*—they are bloody and deceitful men." Their most solemn engagements have often been violated, and they have treacherously rebelled against those who were desirous of living in peace with them, and who only laid such restraints upon them, as might prevent their seditious designs. Their declarations have been false and hypocritical, then meditating the fatal blow, when most fawning, and deepest in profession of kindness and service, and withal, *bloody as deceitful*.

Even "the Venerable and Right Reverend Charles Walmesley" here intimates, (contrary to all the records of history,) that the Catholics have "invariably followed" after peace, and manifested the utmost submission to civil authority. And though he maintained, in one place, subjection to the higher powers, as the bounden duty of Christians, (when he wished to expose the unruly practices of some of the Reformers against the Popish hierarchy, and the emperors who supported it,) yet the whole tenor of his declamatory and acrimonious censure of the Protestants, and of their religion, is calculated, and intended, to inflame the minds of the Catholics and others against *them*. Hence I may truly apply to his Catholic brethren what he said respecting the Protestants, "Their dispositions" will be "soured and worked up by this inflammatory doctrine of their ministers to such a degree, that they" will be "ready for any

enterprize of sedition and rebellion—always ready to rise in arms, and equally as good at *fighting*, as at *disputing*.”— P. 192. And, indeed, this latter charge may be proved by what he declares in page 185, “ While powerful princes and great armies undertook to propagate the Protestant religion, the Almighty thought fit to interpose, and gave to the Catholic powers sufficient strength to oppose the invasion, and has *ever since* supported them in such a manner, as to *make them a match against their enemies*.”

Who that attentively reads his notoriously false and sarcastical account of the Reformation, will not take up his own words, and say of the Catholic religion, what he said of ours, “ If its maxims warrant such proceedings, can its gospel be the gospel of Christ ? ”

And again, how truly may we retort those other words of his, “ Whoever is not joined with the ” Catholics “ in their persuasion, knows full well that their obstinacy is incredible in defending their doctrine—that, for that purpose, they are not ashamed to make use of any arguments, though ever so frivolous, inconsistent, or absurd ; and to asperse the ” Protestant “ communion with slanders, misrepresentations, and calumnies.” P. 211.

Now, while Romish bishops and professors of divinity, in a Protestant country, thus set up opinions to make converts—while they publish such impudent, abusive, and lying histories as this—while they fly in the face of authority, and grossly insult the established religion—then it should be made to appear, that *the law is not dead, but sleepeth*, and that “ the magistrate beareth not the sword in vain.”

When past experience, also, evidently testifies, that the Papists seem “ resolved to depose kings, ruin kingdoms, and to subvert the fundamental constitutions of all civil states, rather than their disciplines should not be admitted, proceeding upon such schemes of violence, can they wonder, that princes or their officers, in their wrath, sometimes retaliate upon them ? For, violence necessarily gives provocation, which, in its turn, exerts itself.” P. 199.

The aspect of the times, at present, certainly authorises us to believe, that the Catholics, republicans, and democrats of every description, are all uniting their efforts (as far as they can with safety to their lives) to bring about a revolution, both in Church and State. “ Is not the noise of the wings of ” these “ locusts, as the noise of chariots of many horses running to battle ? ” Rev. ix. 9. “ Here ” (to use the language of the Popish Doctor, in his exposition of this passage) “ the Prophet points at the turbulent, murmuring, clamorous disposition of the ” Catholics and others “ properly expressed by the noise of the locusts, which was as loud as the noise of chariots of many horses running to war.” Does “ not that inflammatory spirit of uneasiness, loud murmur, and sedition, appear in those ” Protestant “ kingdoms where the ” reformed Church is by law established ? “ How often has the public tranquillity been convulsed by that baleful poison ? What fatal disturbances have been raised, and what troubles have princes sustained ? Some of the sects are inspired with a relentless hatred to government—their complaints are clamorous and unceasing : and they brood upon mischief, devising how to *destroy superior power, and reduce all mankind to a level*. What intestine murmurs have been heard, what tumultuous scenes have been seen in England and ” Ireland ?

These disorders are the more to be dreaded, because the Catholics are encouraged by numbers of those who should be among the foremost to repress them. When Protestants themselves (and several of them of high rank and property) are not only favourable to their views, but even violent in support of them, what can we expect but internal commotions and convulsions ? These abettors of Popery consider it only in a *religious* light ; and, being either indifferent or disaffected towards all religion themselves, they think it absurd in others to contend for any particular faith ; and they suppose *they* can be contented and easy, whatever religion preponderates. But they almost entirely mistake the matter ; for, the Catholics are allowed the free exercise of all their religious opinions, and even their idolatrous worship ; nor is there the

most distant intention to curtail their privileges in this respect. Some of them, too, I am persuaded, wilfully misrepresent the nature of the contest, that, by making the different sects of Protestant Dissenters imagine the opposition made to the Catholic claims is principally on the score of *religion*, they may all unite in defence of them, lest the infringement of their own claims, under the Toleration-act, should be hereafter attempted, and a warm persecution ensue. But the real fact is, that, while the governors in Church and State are as friendly as ever to liberty of conscience, they are fearful of admitting the Catholics to any large share of *political power*, lest it should be turned against themselves, being justly apprehensive of the dangerous nature of their *political principles*. It is a mere stratagem for imposing upon the understanding, that *religion* is the ground of the quarrel which unhappily subsists at present.

Hence, because Mr. Fitzpatrick ("printer and bookseller to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth") has just published a pamphlet, entitled "A statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland, *with Commentaries*," and because the Irish crown lawyers judged it to be "a false and seditious libel," and, consequently, summoned him "to shew cause why a criminal information should not be filed against him," the Catholic board came to the following resolution—"That they do meet on the first and third Saturday of every month, until the first of November next, and that their secretary do write circular letters to all the members, *announcing their serious apprehensions that a RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION is about to recommence in Ireland, apparently sanctioned by the present administration*, and inculcating the necessity of frequent deliberation, and constant activity on the part of the Catholic body, in obviating the approaching calamity, and in the firm assertion of their rights, at this fearful and important crisis."

What hypocritical chicanery is this! Surely every man, who has only a moderate share of good sense, and who has read the debates in both Houses, must see, that not only the mem-

bers at large, but that the very bishops and archbishops of our Church have declared their opinion, in the most unequivocal terms, that the Roman Catholics should enjoy the undisturbed possession of their *religious* forms and rites. It is, therefore, solely, against their arrogant demand of *civil authority*, that objections are so justly made. But, in order to engage the *Dissenters* on their side, they have, also, lately drawn up a Petition, with insidious artifice, not merely for their own Emancipation, but for "universal freedom"—for "the removal of all disabilities," affecting every class of Protestants, who are unconnected with the Established Church. I trust, however, that the Dissenters have too much sound judgment, and too much real piety, to fall into the snare which is laid for them. A little reflection must soon convince them, that if they became instrumental to the establishment of Popery, they themselves would be involved in the same ruin with their Protestant brethren in the Church. Or, if the lives of any of them were spared, they would be constrained to acknowledge, that, compared with the *slavery* to which they would be reduced, the toleration now granted them is *perfect freedom*. Let them also consider, that if any should be rash enough to join the Papists in their aspiring projects, and should fail in the attempt, they would then, probably, have the same penal laws enacted against them, as against the Papists. Alike in crime, alike in punishment. "But I am persuaded better things of them, though I thus speak;" and I should be truly grieved if Protestant Dissenters were ever to be considered in the same light with Papists.

Indeed, Protestants of every description, laying aside their little differences, should all heartily unite in the common cause against the common enemy; for, Papists bear a deadly hostility to all out of their pale. Surely, then, those who, for conscience sake, continue out of it, instead of affording them the least aid to effect their political designs, should endeavour to counteract them, with all their might; especially at such a time as this, when our national polity is assailed on every

side. Will it not be readily confessed, that this is an age of revolutions, such as were never known, since the foundation of the world? An unusual ferment seems to pervade all countries—insubordination is daily becoming more prevalent—and the populace, carried away with the whimsical idea of *natural right*, think it but just that they, in their turn, should have the superiority. Kings, nobles, and gentry, must all give way to the majesty of the mob. Nay, (astonishing to tell!) such is the infatuation of the times, that even many men of opulence, civil authority, and good sense in other respects, countenance these licentious notions, by their own unguarded expressions and practices. This has been fully evinced at several meetings of *pretended* patriots; but I shall only advert to that lately held in honour of Sir Francis Burdett, who gave this toast as the first, “The *Regent*—and may he bear in mind the declaration of the *Prince of Wales*, that the crown is held in trust for the benefit of *the people*,” plainly intimating, that he did not think *now* in this respect as he did *formerly*, and that he was no longer *the friend of the people*. This was drank with *three*, and loud applause; doubtless, on account of the *sentiment* annexed to the Regent’s name. Sir F. Burdett then gave, “The memory of that true patriot, who, for upwards of fifty years, advocated *the people’s* cause—John Horne Tooke.” Thus, *the dignity of the people* is still the uppermost idea; and therefore, the memory of Horne Tooke was drank with *three*, being as much entitled to it (to be sure) as the Regent. Mr. Sturch then proposed this toast, “Westminster’s pride, and England’s hope—Sir Francis Burdett”—which was drank with *three times three*, and the most unbounded applause; the Baronet being *three times* more deserving than the *Prince Regent*: and after the acclamations ceased, this tune was played, *Britons strike home*—which we may fairly presume implied much more than it expressed. And, at last, in order to engage the most abusive licentiousness of the democratic prints against the Ministers of State, “The liberty of the press” was given, accompanied with this observation, “It is like the air we breath

—if we have it not, we die.”* Then followed this sentiment, “Soldiers without barracks,” (alluding to Mr. Perceval’s supposed intention of having *barracks* in every great town,) “and legal means of suppressing riots without military executions.” But, what more particularly shews the desire of these *true patriots* to produce disaffection and revolt among the soldiery, and to gain them over to their ambitious views, the following toast was drank with applause, “The abolition of flogging—may the defenders of the land be relieved from the ignominy of the lash!”

Now, if these demagogues think it necessary to support *the rights of the people*, while, at the same time, their endeavours are all adapted to overturn *the rights of the crown*, and *the laws of the Constitution*, should not the Prince Regent, his royal Brothers, the Bishops and Nobles of the land, and all the loyal part of the House of Commons, strain every nerve to quell such factious proceedings? For they will only be increasing, while any prospect remains of what is called Catholic Emancipation.

Each of these two disaffected parties are mutually playing into each other’s hands; and I have no doubt but that the subversion of the State is the centre of their unity. Should the Parliament, therefore, be so rash as to yield to the present demands made upon them by the Roman Catholics, that moment, in my opinion, they seal the death-warrant of the Constitution.

Should any one object that there is no danger *now* to be apprehended from the Catholics, their numbers being comparatively insignificant, and their power ineffectual, I answer, that the very reverse is the case in Ireland, where they are far more

* Never, surely, was a more just remark. These troublers of the common peace, accustomed to breathe in infectious air, would certainly die of the spleen and vexation of spirit, if they were not left at full liberty, publicly to spread the venom of their malice, wrath, scurrility and lies: for “they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their sleep is taken away, unless they cause some to fall.” Prov. iv. 16.

numerous than the Protestants, and where their clergy have such influence as can scarcely be conceived; so that if they can acquire additional power, their attempts will be thereby rendered more formidable. And should success, at any future period, crown their efforts, then their brethren here, aided by such auxiliaries, will be encouraged to follow their example; and if we are foolish enough to increase *their* strength, *our own* will be diminished in proportion.

Again it may be said, that the head of their Church, the Pope, being despoiled of his temporal dominions, and degraded in the scale of nations, cannot now give any effectual assistance to his votaries. But, though he is divested of all military force, yet, what *he* has *lost*, our most inveterate and powerful enemy, *the French tyrant*, has *gained*; and as the Pope (who still retains his spiritual jurisdiction in this united kingdom) is Bonaparte's vassal, he may be employed as an instrument to effect the purposes of his master, whenever time may furnish him with a fit opportunity. But, above all, if we are to believe the Catholics themselves, they are looking forward, with exulting hope, to a nearly approaching period, when "the Lord of hosts, mighty in battle, will undertake and plead their cause, against all his adversaries, and be avenged of them, as it is written, Such honour have all his saints." They think that "the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it," and, therefore, it shall assuredly come to pass. In correspondence with the inspired apostle St. John, the pastors of their Church have solemnly declared it; and their catechism (by "the most Rev. Dr. Butler") tells them; that "the Church cannot err in what it teaches" (p. 18.): therefore, they fully rely on the accomplishment of all those things wherein they have been instructed.

The complexion of the times, also, is such, that they are looking for some extraordinary change in their civil and ecclesiastical polity. Hence the last editors of Dr. Walmesley's History of the Church, have not failed to inform us, that "the experience of nearly thirty years, *the latter part of which has been so eventful*, convinced him more than ever that he

had not been deceived in his general view of things. To his intimate acquaintance he was often heard to repeat, in the language of Moses, in his celebrated canticle, *Adesse festinant tempora—the times are fast approaching*.

Still, should it be objected, that it must be a delusive hope, because present appearances at Rome are altogether against them, then I say, on this supposition, that the more desperate their case seems to be, the more violent will be their struggle to regain their lost dominion. Nay, such is their enthusiastic superstition, that they will turn to an argument in their favour, what may be advanced as militating strongly against them. In many cases, it may be said with truth, that when the ways of divine Providence appear most dark and mysterious, the clouds are suddenly dispersed, light breaks through the shades, and the sun shines forth at last in its full strength. And if they are so bigoted as to believe, that "there is no other true Church besides the holy Catholic Church," and that "Christ has promised the gates of hell should not prevail against it," they will rest assured, even under the most discouraging circumstances, that God, in his own due time, will arise, and cause his insulted and oppressed Church to triumph over all the powers of earth and hell which were combined against her. After the longest eclipse, (for the manifestation of his own glory) he will bring her forth, like the bright luminary in the firmament bursting from under a cloud, only to shine with redoubled lustre; so that all men shall be constrained to say, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

This, I am convinced, is their sanguine expectation, and that, consequently, they will think it their duty to co-operate with God in his gracious designs towards them. But, let not the Protestants be as sanguine, on the other hand, that they can do us no material injury, and that we may securely trust them with the power they want. Keep it in our own hands, and we are *safe*—part with it, and we may be *undone*.

SECTION XII.

Expediency and absolute necessity of continuing the Test-Acts, in their full force.—The Popery-Code already too much relaxed and infringed.

WHAT has been offered in the foregoing pages, tending to shew the danger of encouraging Popery, will, I hope, be understood, as it was intended, to include a defence of the laws of our country, which have laid the Papists under those restraints and incapacities, of which they are disposed, at this critical period, so loudly to complain.

Our ancestors took their accounts of Popish principles from books which the Church of Rome had authenticated in form; and the circumstances attending the treasons and conspiracies of which so many particular Papists had been convicted, afforded sufficient reason to conclude, that their Church patronized their attempts, and applied her principles to the justification of the criminals. With this complicated evidence before them, it became necessary to guard the Constitution from the effects of the perpetual machinations of these dangerous inmates, by such laws as would be most effectual in depriving them of the power of accomplishing the mischief they never ceased to meditate.

To enter into a minute detail of the numerous acts in our statute-books against Popery, would be tiresome; I shall therefore content myself with shewing, that, as they were first made upon some remarkable attempts of the Papists against our Establishment, so nothing but fresh provocations of the same kind has driven the English to the execution of them. They themselves know that, by the laws of some other countries, it is criminal to be a *Protestant*, and that the most peaceable behaviour is no protection; and they know as well, that it has not been the Papists, as such, but only the *provoking, seditious, and turbulent* among them, who

have found any disturbance from the *English* Government. This will appear from a consideration of the following particulars, as related by Dr. Gibson, when bishop of London, in a small tract, entitled, "The danger and mischiefs of Popery."

"In the infancy of the Reformation under Henry the Eighth, the great work was, to extirpate the authority of the Pope, and establish the supremacy of the Prince. Now both these the point under our present consideration *supposes* to be settled; which is not, by what means the Papal authority was excluded, but in what way those who adhere to the religion of the Pope, have been treated in a country where his authority was abolished. And it is well known, that the disaffection of that Prince to the main *doctrines* of Popery, was not so great, as to induce him to any remarkable hardships towards those, who would at least be *silent* under his own supremacy.

"His son King Edward the Sixth went further, and established an *uniformity of service and administration of the sacraments throughout the realm**; but that law only enjoined the minister to use this, and not the mass book; and the people not to interrupt the minister, or speak against the service. And when it appeared, by experience, that the missal†, which had been formerly used, were a great obstruction to the uniformity intended, they were only called in to give a more free and easy passage to the *established* service; without disturbing either priest or people in the *private* exercise of their religion.

"Notwithstanding the bloody reign of Queen Mary; so far was her successor the glorious Queen Elizabeth from the least disposition to cruelty, that she contented herself to restore the supremacy and the public service‡ to their former state; allowing the Papists a share in her counsels; and in a subsequent law against the Pope's authority, exempting peers of the realm from the disabling oath, and frequently

* 2 and 3 Edw. VI.

‡ Camd. Ann. 1558. 5 Eliz. c. 1.

† 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

declaring that no subject who would live quietly and peaceably, should be disturbed on account of religion.

"Tis true, the laws* afterwards grew more severe, but it was because the Papists grew more seditious. To execute bulls of absolution and reconciliation from Rome, or to receive absolution and reconciliation in virtue of such bulls, was made high treason. But let the history of the three preceding years explain that law, and determine whether it was owing to the severity of Protestants or the sedition of Papists. There we find that the Pope had granted authority to *Saunders†* and others, to absolve all the English who would return to the Church of Rome, and that they were very zealous in the work—That the same Pope‡ had sent his bull into England by *Morton* the priest, to anathematize the Queen, deprive her of the throne, and absolve her subjects from their oaths of obedience—That, in virtue thereof, many of the people were withdrawn from their allegiance, a dangerous rebellion raised, circular letters sent to the Papists to rise and assist in the cause, and the bull itself published in the city, in a very open and insolent manner §.

"Ten years after, we find a new enforcement of the law against bulls ||; but it was because the priests had found new devices to evade the former law, and to carry on the work of absolving and reconciling by other ways. We also find penalties for saying and hearing of mass ¶; but we find in the history of the same time, that great numbers of priests were sent into England and Ireland from the seminaries abroad, under pretence of preaching and administering the sacraments, but really to withdraw the subjects from their obedience to the Queen. The same law lays a penalty upon absenting from church, and, after a year's absence, enjoins the finding of sureties for their behaviour; which is not to be thought strange or cruel, when the emissaries of the Church of Rome, under whose discipline the absenters lived, were the professed

* 13 Eliz. c. 1.
§ Camd. Ann. 1570.
¶ Camd. Ann. 1580.

† Camd. Ann. 1568.

‡ — 1569
|| 23 Eliz. c. 1

teachers of rebellion, and when a design had been detected between the Spanish King and the Pope, to dethrone the Queen, and restore Popery * in the kingdom.

"The next law† against Papists command all Jesuits, seminary priests, and others, to depart the realm. But turn to the history of that time, and there you will find great numbers of priests coming daily into England, who taught that the Queen was no Queen‡, and that whatever had been done by her authority since the bull of Pope Pius, was null and void. The same law forbids the sending of children or contributions to the seminaries abroad §; and so the same historian tells us, of great numbers of children sent over to those seminaries, and received there, on condition that they first made a vow to return, when they were instructed in their learning and discipline; that is, in the rankest principles of sedition and rebellion.

"While they were thus diligent in sending over their emissaries to corrupt the people, it is not to be wondered that the great council || of the land should countermine their endeavours, by obliging all who should be found guilty of corrupting, to abjure the realm. And if, in the same year, another law¶ was made to banish Papists from court, and confine them to the neighbourhood of their own dwellings; our histories will explain it**, by shewing, that in the compass of a very few years, several designs had been formed and carried on, to assassinate the Queen.

"King James I†† began his reign with a revival of Queen Elizabeth's laws against Popery; and well he might, when he reflected upon the many wicked designs against the person and government of his predecessor, and that, upon a prospect of her death, they had, in the most public manner, disputed his title to succeed.

"Three years after‡‡, we find Papists confined, under higher penalties, to their places of abode, and greater rewards pro-

* Camd. Ann. 1578. † 27 Eliz. c. 2. ‡ Camd. Ann. 1581.
§ — 1580. || 35 Eliz. c. 1. ¶ 35 Eliz. c. 2.

** Camd. Ann. 1584—7. †† 1 Jac. c. 4. ‡‡ 3 Jac. c. 4. 5.

posed for the discovering of priests, and express declarations required, against the Pope's authority to depose princes and absolve subjects from their obedience, and against dispensing with oaths, and taking them with equivocations and mental reservations. But it is to be remembered, that all this was done upon the discovery of the most hellish and execrable plot that we read of in any age or nation, *the gunpowder treason*; which, we all know, had been carried on by the priests, upon those very *principles*, to the point of execution.

"To these restraints, there were added, in the reign of King *Charles the Second**, the *sacramental test*, and the exclusion of Papists out of the great council of the land. For the occasion of which, I need not appeal to history: I may appeal to the memory of persons still living, for the countenance given in that reign to Popish measures, and the impatience of the Papists to put them in execution, and the attempts to shorten the way for a Popish successor to the throne; who, when he came to the throne, did abundantly justify the *wisdom* of our legislators, by making the removal of that test one of his first endeavours, for the establishment of Popery.

"It may be thought presumption," (continues this learned prelate) "in one of our order, and especially before this learned audience*, to intermeddle in the laws and statutes of the realm: but it will be favourably considered, that they are laws which concern *religion*, and are only cited in an *historical* way—that, by comparing the seditious practices of the Papists, as recorded in our histories, with the several laws they have occasioned, it may appear, at one view, that the Papists have been the sole authors of their own misfortunes—that these restraints, from time to time, were brought upon them by *rebellion*, and not (as they pretend) by *religion*—that the *English* Legislature have proceeded in their restraints *gradually*, as the repeated attempts of the Papists, upon the persons and government of our princes, have rendered them

* 25 Car II, c. 2.; 30 Car. II. c. 1.

† Judges, &c.

necessary—and, that nothing can extort a sanguinary law from the *English* temper, but an indispensable regard to their own religion and government."

Thus it evidently appears, that the penal laws, from time to time, were rendered necessary, by the turbulent conduct of the Papists; every additional severity being occasioned by the discovery of fresh insurrections against our Constitution.

Perhaps it may seem strange, in this day, that the Papists were, by so many statutes, made subject to the penalties of *high treason*: but this difficulty vanishes, when we consider that our ancestors knew, by dear-bought experience, that the principles of Papists necessarily lead to treasonable practices against the State; since they own implicit obedience to a *foreign* head, who claims a power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, and deposing and excommunicating princes for heresy.

To this source we must ascribe the many nefarious attempts they have made on our excellent Establishment, and on the persons of our Sovereigns, since the Reformation; and from this source we must expect ruin to ourselves and our posterity, whenever those who have always had the will, shall have the *power* to destroy us.

The penal laws, however, have been represented as *unreasonable* and *severe*, and that many of the disturbances in Ireland are to be attributed to this circumstance. It may, perhaps, be admitted, that some of the evils observable in that kingdom, have arisen from the operation of the penal laws, which, as Mr. Burke expressed, had, by "a sort of vicious perfection," a tendency to degrade and impoverish the people: but at the same time it should be confessed they were manifestly and indispensably *necessary*. Ireland had smarted under a Roman Catholic Parliament, which had, by the exertions of their priests, repealed the Act of Settlement, which secured all the Protestant property; and the Act of Henry the Eighth, which annexed the Crown to that of England: and *rapine* succeeded, which formed one of the foulest stains in the history of that country. The Protestants then followed

with a proportionate vigour, in order to give themselves a perfect system of security; and who can justly blame them? especially, as the laws were never rigorously executed, but when necessity demanded it. And does that necessity no longer exist, so that we have nothing now to fear from the Papists; and therefore, that the laws concerning them should be annulled? So the Papists would have us suppose; and even some Protestant writers (under a mask at least) have seconded the Papists in pleading for a repeal of them. "But there are two things" (as Archdeacon Blackburne judiciously observes) "which are commonly overlooked by those who frame arguments for such repeal.

"1. They who made these laws had an opportunity of contemplating the naked features of Popery, stripped of all disguise. They saw the bitter enmity it bore to the civil and religious rights of mankind, and were consequently better judges of what was necessary for the future security of the *British Constitution*, than we of this generation, who (thanks to a kind Providence!) have had no such experience.

"2. The Papists who have demeaned themselves with any tolerable prudence have had no more to complain of from the severity of these laws, than if they were not obnoxious to them; and even the indiscreet zeal of others of them has been overlooked and connived at, through the lenity of the Government, in cases where they have laid themselves sufficiently open, to justify the severest restraints prescribed by law for the safety of the public. Hence we may learn to what degree the pestilent influence of Popish bigotry works upon the human spirit, when even they who are tinctured with it cannot forbear provoking the very Government which protects them, not only in the peaceable enjoyment of their temporal property, but even in their improvement of it in many cases, equally with those subjects who give the civil magistrate the utmost security for their allegiance. Whatever may be thought of this indulgence in a patriotic view, it is greatly for the honour of the Protestant principle of toleration; at the same time that the returns the civil government has met

with for it, afford the strongest reasons for not relaxing those necessary provisions which alone prevent the spirit of Popery from proceeding farther than *verbal* insults upon our happy Constitution."

Had the promoters of the late repealing statutes looked back, and placed themselves in the situation of our ancestors; had they taken a retrospective view of massacres in cold blood, of flames scarce extinguished, of plots and rebellions with difficulty discovered and suppressed; they would have been alarmed at the malignant aspect of Popery, and *such acts* would never have passed so unanimously through the British Senate.

In the execution of the penal laws, certain it is, that a Christian spirit of *moderation* has been manifested. They were seldom enforced, but when a turbulent and rebellious conduct of the Papists rendered it absolutely needful: and even then, they were inflicted by the hand of *discriminating* justice; not confounding the *innocent* with the *guilty*. And notwithstanding all that we are told of the *severity* of these laws, they are *mild* indeed when compared with the bloody edicts which are still in full force against Protestants in many Popish countries. While Papists in England are claiming "*complete emancipation*," they should remember that Protestants in France were lately exposed to persecution, by the repeal of the Edict of Nantz: and in some places, Protestants are, by law, condemned to death.—Astonishing contrast! which needs only to be considered, to evidence the impropriety of repealing the Popery Code. Its wisdom and policy have been proved by the experience of above two hundred years; and it is to them we are at this day indebted, under divine Providence, for the preservation of our rights and liberties, and for the settlement of the Crown, in the illustrious House of Hanover.

By late acts of Parliament, however, some of our wisest and best laws against Popery have been repealed, and thereby our Constitution has been endangered. It is indeed a melancholy consideration! But I trust that those, who are the

appointed defenders of our civil and religious privileges, will now resolutely preserve them from the farther encroachments of Popery, and its inseparable concomitant, *arbitrary power*. If they want any excitement to this, they need only attend to the fatal consequences likely to result from the repeal of the penal laws; and they appear truly alarming. The chief obstacles to Popery being removed, Popish priests, and other missionaries, will take encouragement to resort hither, and "compass sea and land to make proselytes." Popish teachers will also be equally assiduous in seducing the children of the poor. Books will be published, catechisms dispersed, and no pains spared to captivate the unwary.

This, undoubtedly, has been the case for many years past, and will be a growing evil. Bishop Newton, in his Charge to the Clergy, 1766, begins thus: "You cannot but be sensible, that many and grievous complaints have been made lately of the great growth and increase of Popery in this kingdom. Even the public papers have rung out the alarm-bell in the ears of the people, from one end of the land unto the other. We cannot indeed be too much alarmed, nor too much upon our guard, against any advances of so corrupt a religion, which is no less an enemy to our *civil* than our *religious* liberties."

"Great industry" (says he again) "is used by numbers of priests, to undermine the Protestant religion. Bribes are given, and large promises of support and encouragement, to the meaner people; catechisms and books of devotion are privately dispersed; mass-houses are erecting every where, and priests officiate with open doors; they insinuate themselves into private families, and kindly receive the necessitous and distressed, on condition of their living and dying in the bosom of the Catholic Church. These are the new methods of conversion. But shall Protestants be *asleep*, while the enemy is thus *vigilant* and *awake*? Have we any concern for the reformed religion, for the liberties of our country, and for the welfare of our dear children and posterity? Let us then "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

Let Churchmen and Dissenters lay aside their mutual jealousies of each other, and bind their united forces against the common enemy. And may the wisdom of the Legislature be directed to such measures, consistent with the laws of Christianity, and the natural rights of mankind, as may strengthen the Protestant interest, and effectually prevent the growth of a religion, which would rob us of all that is dear to us as men and Christians."

The Reformation has happily freed us from that "yoke which our fathers were not able to bear;" and if we could again submit our necks to it, we should deserve as little pity as the Israelites, who, while they were fed with "bread from heaven," yet longed to return to the "leeks, and the onions, and the garlic," in Egypt. We Britons generally pretend to be jealous and tender of our *civil* liberties, let us at least be as jealous and tender of our *spiritual*; now especially, when the agents and emissaries of the Church of Rome are so busy and successful in making converts. *Slavery* of any kind is bad; and surely that of the *body* is not worse than that of the *mind* and *conscience*; but both together must be intolerable. If there were no other argument against Popery, yet this is argument sufficient, that we should not be *slaves*.

If we also look forward to futurity, and have any regard for succeeding generations, the consequences of removing all restraints from the Papists will appear yet more fatal. Policy teaches them to be cautious at present, lest they should alarm the Legislature. They are therefore now concerting and carrying on their schemes in a *secret* manner; but the evils will be seen and felt hereafter.

Bishop Newton, in one of his charges to the clergy, speaking of the arrival of so many *Jesuits* in this country, (whom he calls "the pests and incendiaries of the world,") says, "Artful and insinuating as they are, they will have the cunning and address to shew themselves as little as possible, till a favourable opportunity shall offer itself. Like moles, they work under ground, undermining the faith and conscience of as many as come in their way; and their operations are *visible*,

while they themselves remain *unseen*. It is the more difficult to guard against them by reason of the variety of shapes which they assume, and the surprising changes and metamorphoses which they undergo. They seldom appear in their proper colours, but take as many forms as Proteus; and, like Proteus, they must be manacled and bound, before they will return to their own shape."

This may be equally applied to most of the Romish priests, missionaries, and school-masters. By educating many of our children, and assiduously endeavouring to proselyte their parents, they are *sapping* the very foundations of our Constitution, in Church and State. Shall Protestants, then, be accessory to such measures, and help them to *overturn* it?

But, Britons, I would now draw your attention to a very material consideration; and I hope you will not be offended with me for hinting, that I fear those amongst you who favour the Popish claims at present, think yourselves "wiser in your generation" than any of your ancestors.

They well knew that landed property and parliamentary influence were inseparable; and, therefore, to form a bulwark for the defence of our Constitution, wisely concluded, that it was their indispensable duty, not only by the Test Act, to exclude Papists from sitting in the House; but to prevent them from interfering in the choice of representatives, by depriving them of the means of influence amongst the electors.

For these important ends, by an Act of William III. Papists were disabled to purchase, and incapacitated to inherit, any landed property; and their estates were given to the next of kin, being Protestants. By these means, Protestantism was encouraged, the wings of Popish arrogance were clipped, and Papists, being no longer in a situation to acquire landed property, lost their influence; and our liberties have been preserved to this day.

The severity of this statute was felt in its operation by Papists of the last century; and Government has experienced the policy of it, from its effects, in this. Papists, incapacitated to purchase lands, were necessitated to lay out their monies

in the funds, whereby they contributed to the support of the State; and the Papists, in our day, have scarcely felt any inconvenience therefrom; having been habituated, for so many years, to acquire a monied interest, in lieu of landed property. But this barrier is now removed; these clauses are all repealed; and Papists are enabled to purchase what they can, and capacitated to inherit all they purchase.

What, then, is likely to be the result? Why, that the money they have been accumulating will be withdrawn from the funds, and expended on the purchase of estates, which they must consider as far more advantageous to their interests, in every respect. And, indeed, it is a very discouraging thought, that lands are not worth, at this time, near so much as they were. This is owing to the scarcity of specie; but there is not such a scarcity with the Papists. The necessity of the times will compel many to part with their estates; and Papists have an opportunity of purchasing for less than their value, and thereby of getting a great part of the landed property of the kingdom into their own hands. Being enabled to purchase, and capacitated to inherit, they will acquire an increase of power, as their landed property increases; and, by their landed property, will certainly, in a future period, *influence our elections in Parliament*.

By an influence in parliamentary elections, a future Parliament may be found endued with such a liberal spirit of toleration, as to remove the Test-Act; to qualify them for offices of magistracy, and give them an opportunity of sitting in both Houses of Parliament: Or Papists (as they can have dispensations for oaths) may think it a duty they owe to the Church of Rome, to conform to the rites of the Church of England, and even to profess themselves Protestants, for a season, in order to obtain seats in the great council of the nation, whereby they may effectually serve the interests of Popery.

Should such a period arrive, (and most assuredly it will, unless wise and timely measures be taken to prevent it,) where then will be the safety of the Protestant succession

in the present royal family? And what security will our posterity have for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties?

Nor are these dismal events improbable, perhaps not very remote. If Papists have power, it must necessarily be used, to spread and exalt Popery throughout the united kingdom; and having the sword of magistracy in their hands, England and Ireland will again be deluged with the blood of martyrs; our happy freedom be exchanged for bondage, and our pure religion be discarded, to make room for Romish superstition.

The last observation I shall make on the consequences resulting from one of the late acts in favour of the Papists, seems to me of great importance, and demands the most serious attention. In that Act of Parliament, the oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy*, and the oath of *abjuration*, are comprehended in one form; and, to accommodate the Papists, the words "*ecclesiastical*" or "*spiritual*," are omitted, and the words, "*temporal* or *civil*," inserted in their stead. No Papist could conscientiously have sworn, that the Pope and bishops appointed by him had no *ecclesiastical* or *spiritual* authority or pre-eminence; when every Papist, as such, necessarily owes implicit obedience, in spiritual matters, to the Pope of Rome. The words *ecclesiastical* or *spiritual*, are, therefore, left out; and the words *temporal* or *civil*, substituted; and, by this very material alteration in the form of the oath, the *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction of the Pope and Popish prelates (for there are titular bishops already appointed over every see throughout the kingdom) is tacitly acknowledged, and virtually recognised, by the Legislature; by which means the Constitution is violated.

What great reason, therefore, have I, to call upon "the High Court of Parliament," to reconsider the indiscreet advantages they have offered the Papists; and, in the most earnest manner to entreat them, not to yield to the artful insinuations of those, who would persuade them to the removal of the principal barrier which fences and secures our civil and ecclesiastical system, by a repeal of the *Test-act*. It is possible,

there may be many very sanguine for the abolition of this law, who do not apprehend themselves under undue influence. Such is the nature of self-love, that private interests often operate in such a manner upon the mind, as to incline it to believe, that its sensations and suggestions are compatible with the public good; and sometimes, indeed, there is an accidental coincidence between them. But experiments, which affect the fundamental principles of the Constitution, are always dangerous. Only take away the specious pretence which covers those passions, which give animation to all the proceedings upon this occasion, and the monster will appear in all its native deformity.

"The present pretence" (says Archdeacon Blackburne) "for having the penal laws superceded, is, that the occasions upon which they were enacted no longer subsist. The meaning of which, (to make this a good reason for silencing those laws,) should be, that the Papists have *now* renounced those principles which rendered their forefathers obnoxious to the government under which they lived. For, barely to say, that the Papists have not, for some years backward, engaged in the same kind of treasons and conspiracies that their forefathers did,* is only saying, that the laws enacted for securing the public against the pernicious tendency of their principles, have had a good effect: which, while the same principles are still espoused by the Papists of the present age, is the best reason in the world for continuing the laws against them in *full force* and *rigour*; and the natural consequence of *repealing* them must be, an immediate return to their endeavours to subvert our Constitution, to which they must be urged by their principles with the more alacrity, as they might then take their measures for that purpose with impunity."

* It was in the year 1768, that the Archdeacon published these remarks; but had he been writing in the present day, he could have reverted the plea here urged for the Papists, and have said, "for some years backward" *they have been* "engaged in the same kind of treasons and conspiracies that their forefathers did."

Now, though "the wisdom that is from above is pure and peaceable," and though our holy religion enjoins us to "do violence to no man," yet it commands us, also, to "beware of men:" Matt. x. 17. For (as our Saviour has forwarned us) "the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." John xvi. 2. And, upon this mistaken principle, have not the Papists too often acted, are they not still acting, in those countries, where the civil power is lodged in their hands? Shall we, then, in a Protestant kingdom, furnish them with weapons, to repeat their atrocious and bloody deeds? God forbid! Again I say, *beware of such men.*

The caution is more needful, at this time, as it has been said (and it appears probable) that, while the late disabilities and incapacities of the Papists remained, their numbers *diminished* and the proportion of Protestants *increased* in Ireland. But it is now stated, with confidence, that since the first relaxation of the laws, the Roman Catholics have added very greatly to their population. If this be so, I am sure it would be a reason with me, for lamenting that the Legislature in any respect gave way: but it would be an additional and most powerful reason for not going *one step farther*. I should, even if the interest of the State was out of the question, upon motives of general policy, be sorry to see any measure adopted which gave encouragement to the Romish religion; and I think it to be the duty of every truly good man, to discourage, as much as he can, the extension of a communion which avows so many pernicious principles, which has so essentially corrupted the true religion.

It seems strange, indeed, that, in an age which boasts of its *liberality*, it should become a fashion to consider, as a matter of indifference, the progress of a religion, which is the most narrow and bigoted in its principle; which avowedly obstructs, and has all along obstructed, all enquiry into the foundations upon which it stands; which in various ways, and by necessary consequence, binds itself to stop the spread of useful knowledge; and which, in the memorable cases of Roger Bacon, of Galileo,

and of many others, has actually persecuted science, in the persons of those who were its most learned and meritorious professors. But this is one of those contradictions which lead one to suspect either the *sincerity* or the *wisdom* of those in whom they are found; and which warrant the observation, that a man may so enlarge his views, as to embrace more than is useful or rational.

Let me repeat it, I would discourage, by all possible means, that which ought in plain terms to be called *Popery*; but which we are now enjoined to call by a name which carries absurdity on the very face of it, the *Catholic* (i. e. universal) religion. I would discourage it not by *murder*, open or secret, not by *persecution* of any sect, (for that my *religion* as well as *disposition* forbids,) not even, unless the plainest and most imperious necessity required it, by such disabilities as were formerly imposed on Papists, and have been lately repealed, because I would allow to all men, what I claim for myself, every indulgence which can be enjoyed *without prejudice to the public*.—But I do say, that it is detrimental to the State that any part, the most trifling or remote, in the administration of the Government, should be placed in the hands of Papists. Nay, thinking as I do, that our Constitution is the best which ever was framed, and feeling that it is what they must aim to subvert, if they ever have it in their power, I say also, that it is for their *own* advantage to debar them from it. If I am put to the dilemma raised by the Petitioners themselves, very unwisely, I think, upon their possessing the *elective*, and being denied the *representative* franchise, I have no hesitation in declaring, that they ought to have neither. And I do think, that the circumstances under which that same elective franchise was conceded, so soon after it had been refused,* argues not much for the wisdom or the soundness of the motives upon which the Parliament proceeded in making that concession. If I were further pushed, and put to a dilemma still more strong, I

* Only the spring before.

should have no hesitation to prefer the repealing of every concession which has been made in this reign, before the grant of those further privileges which are now claimed. And I am happy to find, that, in this opinion, an able statesman (Lord Sidmouth) concurs. For he lately said, in the House of Lords, "If I were put to the necessity of choosing between the total emancipation of the Catholics, or the re-enactment of the penal laws, in such an alternative, I would prefer the latter as the lesser evil."

Now, from the whole of what has been said, in this section, and elsewhere, is it not evident, that, instead of *freeing* the Papists from the remaining restrictions upon them, we should rather lament that any have been *removed*? For, the more liberty they have acquired, the more *presuming* they have grown. Their principles are such that they cannot be trusted with any political power: and therefore it is to be hoped, that the guardians of our admirable polity will not suffer it to be any farther infringed, but will rather be determined to crush every attempt of the kind.

Whenever, under the pretence of conscience and religion, men profess such principles as manifestly break in upon the peace and due regulations of civil society, and shew that their *practice* corresponds therewith, the magistrate may interpose his authority with the highest propriety. The same Scriptures which reserve to the Christian *his right of private opinion* in matters *purely religious*, reserve likewise to the civil magistrate *his right of punishing evil-doers*. The same Scriptures which take the conscientious Christian out of the hands of earthly judgment, with respect to his faith, and mode of worship, by leaving him to stand or fall to his heavenly Master alone; deliver him over to the civil justice of his country, the moment he takes occasion to violate the peace of civil intercourse. The same Scriptures make it the *duty* of the magistrate to see that his subjects lead *quiet* and *peaceable* lives in *all honesty*, as well as in all *godliness*; and therefore can *never* be understood to countenance or abet the disturbers of society, or the transgressors of the known rules of righteous-

ness, upon any pretended plea of conscience. The Christian religion disclaims the province of regulating civil connexion, farther than, by instilling good principles, and reforming the manners of individuals; it provides for the peace and welfare of societies, made up of Christian *governors* and Christian *subjects*; and for the rest confines itself to its proper office of conducting men to a *kingdom which is not of this world*.

But, if any of the subjects of a worldly kingdom, instead of "submitting themselves to the higher powers, which are ordained of God," foment discord, treason, and insurrection, then, the ruler of the people is bound to prove himself "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," Rom. xiii. 4. And, accordingly, in the service appointed for the fifth of November, this prayer occurs, "Strengthen the hands of our gracious sovereign King George, and all that are put in authority under him, with judgment and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into *rebellion*, and faith into *faction*, that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church among us."

Having now pointed out the fatal consequences of the late Acts of Parliament, whereby part of the Popery Code has been repealed, to remedy the evils, let the Protestants throughout the kingdom associate as one man, and apply to Government for redress; and thus shew, that the sense of the people at large is not to favour Popery; and that whilst they are supported by *British Protestants*, and *loyal friends*, they have nothing to fear from *Popish adversaries*.

Something is necessary to be done, to assure the nation in general, and Papists in particular, that it is not the intention of the Legislature to encourage the growth of Popery. Papists are insolent and refractory; and nothing but a law to rescind or qualify the late act, can keep them within the bounds of allegiance and decency.

This is absolutely requisite, to satisfy the minds of all true Protestants; to save the Constitution from further violation; to preserve the Protestant interest in this kingdom from that

imminent danger with which it was threatened; and to secure the Protestant succession in the family of his present Majesty.

Our Constitution has marked out the mode of obtaining redress; and declares, that it is the right of the subject to petition. Let petitions therefore be circulated throughout the empire: let the Clergy of the Establishment, and Protestant ministers of every denomination, and all who are zealous for the welfare and safety of the Protestant religion, cordially unite, and strenuously exert themselves on this important occasion.

Let petitions against the Popish bills and their present claims be sent to Parliament, with numerous signatures from every county, city, and corporation; and from other respectable bodies of people. Let our representatives be instructed by their constituents, to support these petitions in the House; and, as a general election has just taken place, we have reason to hope, that these instructions will be attended to. Should they be neglected, we soon shall have an opportunity in our hands, of electing members more attentive to the voice of the people, and the preservation of the Protestant interest.

If such measures be adopted by Protestants with unanimity; Government may with safety relieve us from our fears, by repealing the late act; and have nothing to dread from the resentment of the Papists: but, should it be objected, that, as the acts are passed, it would now be dangerous to repeal them, let us at least apply for a *restraining* act, to qualify, amend, and explain them—an act, to declare that the former Penal Statutes are in full force, and that in case of their being broken, magistrates shall be obliged to put them into execution—an act, to prevent the Papists (if they must be permitted to acquire landed property) from interesting themselves, directly or indirectly, in any election for members of Parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their estates—an act, to prevent foreign Popish emissaries from resorting hither under heavy penalties, and to prohibit the

attempts of Papists to pervert Protestants to their erroneous tenets, on pain of exemplary punishment—and lastly, an act, to restrain them from keeping public schools, and teaching the children of Protestant parents, on pain of perpetual imprisonment or banishment.

As to declaring the former laws against the Papists yet in force; if the late acts were designed only to repeal detached parts of a single statute, and the former laws are not understood to be affected thereby; it will be an act of kindness to the Papists, to put them on their guard, by such a declaration; or, otherwise, their zeal to proselyte may expose them to disagreeable consequences.

It is not meant that these statutes should be executed with severity. Whilst Papists continue *peaceable*, and do not attempt to diffuse their pernicious principles, what will they have to apprehend from that spirit of lenity with which these statutes have ever been enforced?

We presume that it would be better if the late acts of Parliament were *totally repealed*, and the laws against the Papists placed upon their *former footing*. But if that *cannot be obtained*, a qualifying act, with some such restrictions as those above-mentioned, seems *absolutely necessary*. Thus the Papists would be *curbed*, but not *crushed*; they would *not be persecuted*, nor *could they persecute*; the *grand objects* of the proposed ASSOCIATION would be accomplished; the Protestant religion would be preserved; the British Constitution secured; and the Hanoverian succession established upon the firmest basis.

Should it be objected, that such a measure may create much discontent, and intestine divisions, which may eventually end in seditions and rebellion, I allow that it is not improbable. But if this should come to pass, the opponents of the measure are not therefore to insult us, by saying, "This is the consequence of the harshness with which the Roman Catholics have been treated, as we forwarned you:" For, in reply to this, the loyal Protestants may justly observe, that it is far better the turbulent and factious spirit of the Catholics should

break forth, when they are *under restraint*, (and, consequently, comparatively *impotent*,) than that it should burst upon us with redoubled fury and danger, when invested with that civil power, which would render them formidable enemies. In the one case, we should be sufficiently convinced of their malicious disposition toward us, and be enabled to defeat their designs, but, in the other case, we should probably fall victims to their insatiate rage, and Popery would reign triumphant in our land.

APPENDIX.

THE following extract, from the form of Excommunication pronounced at *Rome*, on *Maundy-Thursday*, demonstrates the mild spirit by which the Papists are actuated towards those whom they deem heretics.

The title runs thus: “*The Excommunication and Anathematization of all Heretics whatsoever, and their favourers, and Schismatics, or of those who violate the Ecclesiastical Liberty, or any ways infringe the contents of this Bull, which is wont to be published on Maundy-Thursday.*”

“SECT. I. We excommunicate and anathematize in the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and Apostates from the Christian faith, and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, and of whatsoever sect they be: as also their adherents, receivers, favourers, and generally. any defenders of them; together with all, who, without our authority, or that of the Apostolic See, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways, for any cause whatsoever, publicly or privately, on any pretext or colour, defend their books containing heresy, or treating of religion; as also schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or recede obstinately from the obedience of us, or the Bishop of Rome, for the time being.

“Given at *Rome* from *St. Peter*, in the year of our Lord’s incarnation, 1610, the 8th of *April*, in the fifth year of our popedom.

“James Brambilla, *Mag. Curs.*”

In the Year 1765.

A genuine copy of a Popish excommunication, found amongst the papers of *Philip Dunn*, deceased, a Popish bishop, at his house in the county of *Wicklow*, pronounced by him against *Francis Freeman*, one of his parishioners, who at that time embraced the Protestant religion. Faithfully translated from the Latin original, by Dr. *Tooker*.

"By authority of God the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and all the holy saints, We excommunicate *Francis Freeman*, late of the county of *Dublin*, but now of *Juck-mill*, in the county of *Wicklow*, that in spite of God and St. *Peter*, and in spite of all the holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the Pope, (God's vicar on earth,) and in spite of our right reverend father in God, *Philip Dunn*, our diocesan, and worshipful canons, who serve God daily; hath apostatized to a most damnable religion, full of heresy and blasphemy; excommunicated let him be, and delivered over to the devil, as a perpetual malefactor, and schismatic; accursed let him be in all cities, and in all towns, in fields, in ways, in yards, in houses, and in all other places, whether lying or rising, walking or running, leaning or standing, waking or sleeping, eating or drinking, or whatsoever thing he does: besides, we separate him from the threshold and all good prayers of the church; from the participation of the holy Jesus; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from the holy bread and holy water; from all the merit of God's holy priests and religious men, and from their cloysters, and all pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy Popes have granted them; and we give him over utterly to the fiend; and let him quench his soul when dead in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is quenched and put out. And let us pray to God, our lady, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, that all the senses of his body may fail as now the light of this candle is gone; except he come on sight hereof, and openly confess his damnable heresy and blasphemy, and by repentance make amends as much as in him lies to God, our lady, St. *Peter*, and the worshipful company of this church;

and as the staff of this holy cross now falls down, so may he, except he recants and repents."

Signed "*Philip Dunn*."

In "*The Christian Observer*, for Jan. 1812," is a similar specimen of Papal excommunication, which the Rev. Matt. Place, of Hampreston found in the hands of one of his parishioners, against a professional man of that place, for having renounced the errors of the Church of Rome.

"*The Pope's curse, bell, book, and candle, on a heretic at Hampreston.*

"By the authority of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and bar, commit, and deliver to the devil of hell, *Henry Goldney* of Hampreston, in the county of *Dorset*, an infamous heretic that hath, in spite of God, and of St. *Peter*, whose church this is, &c. committed the heinous crimes of sacrilege with the images of our holy saints, and forsaken our most holy religion, and continues in heresy, blasphemy, and corrupt lust. Excommunicated be he finally, and given soul and body to the devil, to be buffeted. Cursed be he in all holy cities and towns, &c. And we pray to our lady and St. *Peter*, and *Paul*, and all holy saints, that all the senses of his body may fail him, and that he may have no feeling, except he come openly to our beloved priest at *Stapehill*, in time of mass, within thirty days of the third time of pronouncing hereof by our dear priest there, and confess his heinous, heretical, and blasphemous crimes, and by true repentance make satisfaction to our lady, St. *Peter*, and the worshipful company of our holy Church of Rome, and suffer himself to be buffeted, scourged, and spit upon, as our said dear priest, in his goodness, holiness, and sanctity, shall direct and prescribe.

"Given under the seal of our holy Church at Rome, the tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord Christ, one

thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and in the first year of our pontificate.

C. R."

" 8th of Oct. 1758, pronounced the first time.

" 15th of ditto, pronounced the second time.

" 22d of ditto, pronounced the third time."

Why do the Petitioners pretend to impose upon the people, that they do not believe that any Pope or priest can forgive them *without* sincere repentance, &c. while, as Roman Catholics, they implicitly believe in the power of their ministers to forgive sins, and know that the doctrine of purgatory grants them the power to deliver after death, when there can be no sincere repentance? It is well known, that printed receipts are given in Ireland, by the *Purgatorian Society*, (as regularly as a parish receipt for taxes,) for *masses* said for the deceased friends and relations of those who are weak enough to pay for them. Perhaps, therefore, the Petitioners may have an interest in the united efforts of this society, and therefore are very easy about obtaining pardon for what they said in the Petition, during *life*, seeing they can obtain it after *death*.

In "The Christian Observer for Jan. 1812," there is a letter from a gentleman in Dublin to the editor, with an *exact* copy of a printed notice, which a Dissenting minister got from one of his congregation, who had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion.

" *It is a pious and salutary thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.* II Mac. xii. 8.

" PURGATORIAN SOCIETY,

" *Under the protection of the most glorious name of Jesus.*

" The stability of this society depends on the punctual payment of your arrears, the sooner to yield relief to the suffering souls in Purgatory, supply the wants of our distressed cler-

gymen, and for the spiritual and temporal welfare of its members; the three principal points of this laudable institution.

" N. B. Subscriptions received in the school-room of Rosemary-lane chapel, on the first Sunday of each month, from eleven till two o'clock.

" Your arrears are 6s. 6d. being twelve months subscription, ending June 1811.

(Signed by order)

" J. C. Bacon, President.

" You are humbly prayed to continue your laudable exertions (so happily experienced since the commencement of this society) in obtaining new subscribers."

The author was once credibly informed by a lady, who lived in a country part of Ireland, that, on her asking the Popish priest, whether he believed the common report that the mountains near the village were haunted, was answered in the affirmative. " And what do you suppose it is" (said she) " that haunts them." He replied, " The ghosts of poor people wanting to be prayed out of purgatory." And have not you" (again she asked) " the power of praying them out?" " Yes, to be sure, I have"—(answered he), " but who the devil would *pay* me for it!"

A relation, also, of the author's assured him, that as he was coming out of a Popish church in Italy, a man stood at the door, with a plate in his hand, crying out, but in the language of his country) " Pray remember the poor souls in purgatory." A nobleman, who was just at his side, then threw in a piece of gold into the plate: upon which, (the offering being unusually large,) the man, with seeming ecstasy, exclaimed, " God bless your honour!" Then lifting his hand upwards, he said, " There I see one poor soul released out of purgatory!"—" Well," (said the other,) " if the poor devil has got out, I am sure he'll take care never to go in

again; so I may take my money back"—which he accordingly did.

Who does not clearly see, in all this, the exact fulfilment of the prediction of St. Peter himself, (whose successors the Pope and his priests pretend to be,) "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies; and, through covetousness, shall they, with feigned words, make merchandise of you?" II Peter, ii. 1, 3. Happy also are they who are delivered from these delusions, and can say, in the words of the same Apostle, "We have not followed cunningly devised fables:" i. 16.

In an Appendix to a pamphlet, entitled, "Popery always the same," (published in London, 1746,) the author recites the Edicts issued against the Protestants, by Lewis XV. which were still more severe than those of his predecessors. From these it appears, that "all exercise of the pretended reformed religion was strictly prohibited"—that "all officers and justices should take care to arraign and convict all preachers who should call assemblies to preach in them, or perform any other functions; and also every one of his Majesty's subjects who should be present in these assemblies; in order that all such might be condemned to suffer the punishments mentioned in his Majesty's edicts"—that "the men who are taken in the fact, should be sent directly, without form of law, to the galleys, to serve as slaves for life"—and that "the women, whether married, or unmarried, should be confined, the remainder of their days, in places appointed for them"—that "all new converts are obliged to prevent, or give information against those assemblies, which are never held without their knowledge; or else they should be punished, as accomplices in the said assemblies, by pecuniary fines, to be imposed at pleasure, on those who will not give information of them"—that, "forasmuch as the preachers, who are the chief abettors of all the assemblies, could not find means to keep them up, did they not meet with easy retreat among the new

converts, his Majesty orders, that all the new converts, in the several corporations within the limits of which a preacher be taken, shall be fined 3000 livres for the use of the informers who shall have caused them to be apprehended; besides the arraigning and convicting the person in whose house the preacher shall be taken, according to the rigour of former ordinances."

But "the King of France's declaration concerning religion, given at Versailles, the 14th of May, 1724," is still more cruel and oppressive, as the reader will find by the following extracts.

"Lewis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre: To all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Of all the great and important designs, formed in the course of his reign by the late King, our much honoured Great-Grand-Sire, there is none, which we have more at heart, and intend to pursue and execute with more vigour, than the design he had framed, of totally extirpating heresy in his kingdom; a design which he thought worthy of his unwearied attention to the last moment of his life. With a view to carry on a work so worthy of his piety and zeal, with the advice of our council, and of our own special grace, full power and royal authority, we have required and commanded, and by these presents signed with our own hand, do require and command; and our will and pleasure is;

"ART. I.—That the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion alone, be exercised in our realms, dominions and countries; and we do forbid all our subjects, of what state, quality and condition soever, to practise any, except the said Catholic religion, or to assemble for that end, in any place, and on any pretence whatsoever; under pain of being condemned to the galleys for life, if they are men; and if women, of being shorn, and confined for ever in such places, as our judges shall think expedient; with confiscation of goods in either case: and even, under pain of death, to those, who shall assemble in arms.

"ART. II.—We do command, that all preachers, who shall

call assemblies, preach in them, or discharge any other function, be put to death; the punishment appointed by the declaration in *July*, 1686, for the ministers of the pretended reformed religion; which we would not, for the future, have any one esteem a mere threatening, which will not be put in execution. We do likewise forbid our subjects, to receive the said *ministers* or *preachers*, to conceal, aid, or assist them, or have directly or indirectly any intercourse or correspondence with them: we farther enjoin all those, who shall know any of the said *preachers*, to inform against them to the officers of the respective places; the whole under pain, in case of trespass, of being condemned to the galleys for life, if men; and if women, of being shorn, and shut up the remainder of their days, in such places, as our judges shall think expedient; and, whether they be men or women, under pain of confiscation.

ART. III.—We require and command all our subjects, and particularly those, who have heretofore professed the pretended reformed religion, or whose parents made profession of it, that they cause their children to be baptized in the parish-churches, where they live, within four-and-twenty hours after they are born, unless they have obtained leave of the archbishops or the diocesan bishops to defer the ceremony of baptism for some weighty reasons: we farther enjoin, that all midwives and others, who assist women in the time of delivery, do give notice of the birth of children to the curates of the respective places; and that our officers, and the officers of our *high justices*, do keep a strict hand in this respect, and punish offenders by fine, and even by greater punishments, if the exigence of the case require it.

“ART. IV.—As to the education of the children of those, who have heretofore professed the pretended reformed religion, or, whose parents made profession of it, our will is, that the edict of *January* 1686, and the declarations of the 13th of *December* 1698, and of the 16th of *October* 1700, be put in execution, in every particular therein contained; moreover prohibiting all our subjects to send their children to be

educated out of the kingdom, unless they have first obtained leave of us in writing, signed by one of our secretaries of state; which we shall not grant, without being sufficiently satisfied, that the parents are true and sincere Catholics; and this, upon pain, in case of trespass, of a fine of six thousand livres, at the least, or more in proportion to the estates and abilities of the parents of the said children; the said fine to be renewed every year, so long as the said children shall, in defiance of our prohibitions, remain in foreign countries: in which respect, we enjoin our judges to keep a strict hand.

“ART. V.—Our will is, that all possible care be taken to settle in all parishes, where they are not already provided, school-masters and mistresses, to instruct all the children of both sexes in the principal mysteries and duties of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion; to carry them to Mass, as much as may be, &c.

“ART. VI.—We enjoin all fathers, mothers, tutors, and others, who are concerned in the education of children, particularly of those, whose fathers and mothers professed the pretended reformed religion, or were born of Protestant parents, to send them to the schools and catechisms till fourteen years of age; and from fourteen to twenty, cause them to attend the instructions on Sundays and Holidays, &c. We also command our judges, attorneys, and those of our *high justices*, to make strict enquiry, and give all necessary orders for the execution of our will in this respect; and to see, that those, who shall be remiss in their duty, and rash enough to disobey, in any manner whatsoever, be punished by fine, to be levied provisionally notwithstanding an appeal, to any sum, which they shall think proper.

“ART. VIII.—In time of sickness, when the health of body and soul are equally in danger; our will is, That the physicians, and, in their absence, the apothecaries and surgeons, who shall be sent for, to visit sick persons, be obliged to give notice to the curates or vicars of the parishes, where the said sick persons dwell, as soon as they shall judge the disease dangerous, to the intent, that the said sick persons, par-

ticularly, those lately returned to the communion of the Church, may receive from them such instructions and spiritual consolations, as they shall stand in need of, together with the assistance of the sacraments, when the said curates or vicars shall find, that the sick persons are in a condition to receive them: And we enjoin all relations, servants, and others, who are about the said sick persons, to give them admission to the sick, and receive them with the decency becoming their character. Our will likewise is, That, those physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, who shall neglect their duty in this particular, and in like manner, the relations, servants, and others about the said sick persons, who shall refuse to introduce the said curates, vicars, or priests, sent by them to the sick persons, be condemned to pay such a fine, as our judges shall see cause; and also, that the physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, for the second offence, be suspended, as the exigence shall require.

"ART. IX.—We, in like manner, enjoin all curates, vicars and others, who have cure of souls, to visit with great care and diligence the sick, of what state or quality soever, particularly those, who have heretofore professed the pretended reformed religion, or whose parents made profession of it, that they may, in private and without witness, exhort them to receive the sacraments of the Church, and give them all necessary instructions for that end, with the prudence and charity suitable to their office: but if, in contempt of their exhortations and wholesome counsels, the sick persons refuse to receive the sacraments offered to them, and declare openly, that they are resolved to die in the pretended reformed religion, and persist in the declaration, they have made during their sickness; our will is, that if they recover of their sickness, they be arraigned and convicted by our bailiffs, and seneschals, at the requisition of our attorneys, and that they be sentenced to perpetual banishment; with confiscation of goods; and where confiscation dont take place, to a fine, which shall, at least, amount to half the value of their estate; If, on the contrary, they die in this wretched disposition, we order

that their memory be arraigned by our said bailiffs and seneschals, at the requisition of our attorneys, in the form prescribed by the Articles of the Chapter or Tit. XXII. of our ordinance of *August 1670*, to the end, their said memory may be condemned, with confiscation of their goods, &c.

"ART. XI.—And forasmuch, as we are informed, that, what contributes most to confirm the said sick persons, or cause them to relapse into their former errors, is the presence and exhortations of certain concealed *Religionists*, who attend them secretly in that condition, and make an ill use of the prejudices of their childhood, and of the weakness, they are reduced to by their sickness, to persuade them to die out of the bosom of the Church; We do order, That they, who shall be found guilty of this crime, be arraigned and convicted by our bailiffs and seneschals, as above, and be condemned; if men, to the gallies for life, or for a time, as our judges shall think proper; and if women, to be shorn and locked up in such places, as the judges shall appoint, for life, or only for a stated time.

"Given at *Versailles*, the 14th day of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1724, and in the ninth year of our reign.

Signed "*LOUIS*,

And lower, By the KING.

"*DAUPHIN*, Count of *Provence*.

"*Phelypeaux*.

"And sealed with the great seal of yellow wax."

"Mr. *Bower* says, that what first occasioned him to contrive his escape from the Inquisition, was the cruelty exercised there, particularly on two gentlemen, whose stories he thus relates.

"Information having been giving to the Inquisition at *Macerata*, that a gentleman had been guilty of speaking disrespectfully of their office; all imaginable diligence was used to discover him; and advertisements fixed up at *Rome*, and other places, describing him to be a *tall black man, with an impediment in his speech*.

"One of their emissaries happening to be at *Florence*, in the public walks, met with a person, whom he thought answered the description. Accordingly he spared no pains to insinuate himself into his acquaintance; and succeeded so far, that the gentleman, finding him to be a stranger, offered to shew him the principal curiosities of the place; and entertained him, at his house, in a free and hospitable manner.

"After some time, the stranger told him, that he hoped he would suffer him to return the obligation by accompanying him to *Rome*; and passing some days with him at his seat, in the neighbourhood of that city, where he found the gentleman had never yet been.

"Accordingly they set out together, and instead of carrying him to any house of his own, he led him directly to the palace of the Inquisition at *Macerata*, where, after bringing him to the great hall, he desired him to amuse himself with the paintings there; and excused his leaving him a little, to give the necessary orders in the house.

"Whilst he was thus admiring the grandeur of the place, and suspecting, from the richness of the furniture, that he had not treated his friend with the respect that was his due, he observed several persons peeping one by one at the door, and staring him full in the face.

"Upon this, seeing no sign of his companion's return, he began to suspect some treachery, and was just stepping out, when a person came up to him, and enquiring where he was going, told him, that no body was suffered to depart thence; that he was now in the hall of the Inquisition, and must certainly have been guilty of some great crime, or he would not have been brought thither; so that he must take up his abode there.

"Immediately he was thrust down into the dungeon; where, after being fed for a week with bread and water, he was brought up in the middle of the night to a room hung with black, where the council of the Inquisition was sitting, (one of which was Mr. *Bower* himself,) where he was told, by the Inquisitor-Ge-

neral, that he must certainly have been guilty of some great offence; for the Holy Inquisition never accused any one rashly; so that he must consider what it was, and impeach himself.

"Upon his protesting his innocence, he was prepared for the torture, which was inflicted in this manner. The unhappy man was stripped naked, and by means of four ropes, which ran upon as many pulleys, at each corner of the room, his arms and legs were extended, within one degree of breaking; and he was laid upon his back, with an iron spike fixed under him.

"In this condition he lay for some time, in extreme anguish; but still refusing to accuse himself, he was remanded back to his dungeon; where he had not been long, before the Inquisition having dispatched an express to *Rome*, with their suspicions, that, from his resolution, and other circumstances, he could not be the man they imagined, received for answer, that they need give themselves no further trouble about him, for that they had discovered the true offender. Upon which this gentleman was discharged, after they had given him an oath of secrecy. But the hardships, under which he had laboured, and the torments he had suffered, had so far deprived him of the use of his faculties, that he continued the remainder of his life senseless and distracted in the neighbourhood of *Macerata*.

"This, Mr. *Bower* says, shocked him extremely. But what determined him to leave them, when opportunity offered, was the following affair, which he relates thus.—As a nobleman, a friend of his, who was just married, was walking in his garden with his lady; two Capuchin friars passed by with their feet and heads bare, and in the mortifying garb of their order. When they were got to some little distance, and, as he thought, out of hearing, he expressed to his wife his surprize, that any person could be so far infatuated, as to believe that such a particular dress could be meritorious in the sight of God.

"Unhappily for him, he was overheard by the friars, who made their report to the Inquisition. Mr. *Bower*, as one of the Inquisitors, was ordered to take a sufficient guard, which they always had in waiting, to bring his unfortunate friend before them. It would have been vain for him to have expressed

the reluctance he inwardly felt; for the least signs of it might have proved fatal to himself.

"About the middle of the night, he and his attendance appeared before the nobleman's door; when, upon their knocking, a servant looked out of a window, and enquiring who was there, was answered, *the Holy Inquisition*: upon this, knowing the consequence of a refusal, he hastened down, opened the door, and conducted them into the bed-chamber, where the new-married couple were fast asleep.

"The first who waked was the lady, who seeing such a crew of ruffians in the room, screamed out, for which she was saluted by one of them with a blow on the face, that made the blood gush out. Mr. *Bower* was much enraged at this, and asking the fellow what authority he had for such an unparalleled piece of cruelty, threatened him severely, and afterwards had him punished in an exemplary manner.

"This waked the husband, who being very much surprised at what had happened, casting his eyes on Mr. *Bower*, cried out, Ah, my friend, is it you! Yes, he replied, it is; and you must immediately rise and follow me. This he soon complied with. Accordingly he was conducted to the Inquisition, where he was told, he was certainly guilty of some great crime; and that he had a week given him to recollect himself what it was, and so accuse himself.

"All that time he was confined in a dungeon, and fed with nothing but bread and water, in order to weaken him, and render him less able to undergo the torture.

"At the end of the week he was brought, in the night, before the infernal tribunal; and so altered, that he was scarce known to be the same: and upon his declaring that he was not conscious of any thing culpable, he was led to the torture, which was thus inflicted on him.

"By means of four cords, which came over four pullies, at each corner of the room, and met in the centre, he was hoisted up to the ceiling, where, by a sudden jerk, all his bones were dislocated.*

* See the engraving, Stockdale's Inquisitions.

"After he had hung some time in this deplorable condition, the Inquisitor-General, thinking he had not yet suffered enough, commanded them to slacken the cords, in order to let him fall with a shock to the ground. This, after what had been done before, is thought to be one of the greatest torments that human nature is capable of sustaining. But when they came to inflict it, they found that the unhappy man was already dead; upon which they buried him in a private manner, and sent a note to his wife, desiring her to offer up prayers for his soul, in all the churches of *Rome*."

After two such specimens of unexampled barbarity, and sanctified villainy, in both of which, by virtue of his office, Mr. *Bower* had been so deeply, though reluctantly, concerned, he was determined, at all events, to make his escape from the Inquisition, which, at last, he happily effected.

N. B. He published, in several volumes, the *Lives of the Popes*, wherein he has assigned the most substantial reasons for leaving the Church of *Rome*, in which he had been educated: and whoever reads them, will shudder at the horrors of Popery, and the hell of an Inquisition.

Dr. Buchanan, in his "*Asiatic Researches*," has furnished us with a very affecting narrative, drawn up by Dr. Dellan, who "had been thrown into the Inquisition at Goa, and confined in a dungeon, ten feet square, where he remained upwards of two years, without seeing any person, but the jailor who carried him his victuals, except when he was brought to his trial, expecting daily to be led to the stake. His alleged crime was, charging the Inquisition with cruelty, in a conversation he had with a priest at *Daman*, another part of India.

"During the months of November and December, I heard, every morning, the shrieks of the unfortunate victims who were undergoing the *Question*. I remembered to have heard, before I was cast into prison, that the *Auto da Fè* was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because

on that day is read in the churches that part of the Gospel in which mention is made of the LAST JUDGMENT; and the Inquisitors pretend, by this ceremony, to exhibit a lively emblem of that awful event. I was likewise convinced, that there were a great number of prisoners, besides myself; the profound silence, which reigned within the walls of the building, having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of meals. However, the first and second Sundays of Advent passed by, without my hearing of any thing; and I prepared to undergo another year of melancholy captivity, when I was aroused from my despair, on the 11th of January, by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the door of my prison. The *Alcaide* presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to make myself ready to attend him, when he should come again. Thus saying, he left a lighted lamp in my dungeon.—The guards returned, about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate, drawn up in a rank against a wall: I placed myself among the rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band. The profound silence and stillness caused them to resemble statues, more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were cloathed in a similar manner, were placed in a neighbouring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves at some distance, attended by others, who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were; but I was afterwards informed, that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burned, and the others were their confessors.

“After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we received each a large wax taper. They then brought us a number of dresses made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. This is called the *San Benito*. The relapsed heretics wear another species of robe, called the *Samarra*, the ground of which is grey. The por-

trait of the sufferer is painted upon it, placed upon burning torches with flames and demons all round.—Caps were then produced, called *Carrochas*; made of pasteboard, pointed like sugar loaves, all covered over with devils, and flames of fire.*

“The great bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sun-rise, which served as a signal to warn the people of Goa, to come and behold the august ceremony of the *Auto da Fé*; and then they made us proceed from the gallery one by one. I remarked, as we passed into the great hall, that the Inquisitor was sitting at the door with his secretary by him, and that he delivered every prisoner into the hands of a particular person, who is to be his guard to the place of burning. These persons are called *Parrains* or *Godfathers*. My Godfather was the commander of a ship. I went forth with him, and as soon as we were in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominican friars; who have this honour, because St. Dominic founded the Inquisition. These are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, each having his Godfather by his side, and a lighted taper in his hand. The least guilty go foremost; and as I did not pass for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me. The women were mixed promiscuously with the men. We all walked barefoot, and the sharp stones of the streets of Goa wounded my tender feet, and caused the blood to stream: for they made us march through the chief streets of the city: and we were regarded every where by an innumerable crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts of India, to behold this spectacle; for the Inquisition takes care to announce it long before, in the most remote parishes.

“At length we arrived at the Church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the *Act of Faith*.† On one side of the altar, was the Grand Inquisitor, and his Counsellors; and, on the other, the Vice-Roy of Goa, and his Court. All the prisoners are seated to hear a sermon.

* See engravings, Sockdale's History of the Inquisition.

† Ibid.

I observed that those prisoners who were the *horrible Car-rochas* came in last in the procession. One of the Augustin Monks ascended the pulpit, and preached for a quarter of an hour. The sermon being concluded; two readers went up to the pulpit, one after the other, and read the sentences of the prisoners. My joy was extreme, when I heard that my sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.—After the sentences were read, they summoned forth those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the Holy Inquisition. The images of the heretics, who had died in prison, were brought up at the same time, their bones being contained in small chests, covered with flames and demons.—An officer of the secular tribunal now came forward and seized these unhappy people, after they had each received a *slight blow upon the breast*, from the *Alcaide*, to intimate that they were *abandoned*. They were then led away to the bank of the river, where the Vice-Roy and his court were assembled, and where the faggots had been prepared the preceding day. As soon as they arrive at this place, the condemned prisoners are asked in what religion they chuse to die; and the moment they have replied to this question, the executioner seizes them, and binds them to a stake in the midst of the faggots. The day after the execution, the portraits of the dead are carried to the Church of the Dominicans. The heads only are represented, (which are generally very accurately drawn, for the Inquisition keeps excellent limners for the purpose,) surrounded by flames and demons; and underneath is the name and crime of the person who has been burned.”—*Relation de l’Inquisition de Goa*, chap. xxiv. Also Stockdale’s History of the Inquisition.

Dr. Buchanan informs us, that the chief Inquisitor (when conversing with him on this subject) “admitted that Dillon’s descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the *Auto da Fè*, were in general just.”

“It is not to be denied but that the Pope, upon just cause, hath power to absolve, both himself and all others, from the religious and legal obligation of an oath.”

“After a prince is by name excommunicated by the Pope,

his subjects are freed from their allegiance; his country becomes the right of Catholics, who, beyond all contradiction, exterminating the heretic inhabitants, may possess it as their own.”

“The power of depriving kings of their crown, and emperors of their dignities, for the good of the Church and souls, was always peculiar to the Pope;

“Who hath no less authority, as Christ’s vicar, over Christians, than the shepherd over his sheep.

“It is not lawful for Christians to tolerate any king, who draweth his subjects into heresy.

“But subjects ought to endeavour to set up another in his place.

“They ought to expel him his kingdom, as the enemy of Christ.

“This is the undoubted judgment of the most learned, and agreeable to apostolical truth.

“We, by our apostolical authority, do absolve all subjects from their oaths of fealty, which they have sworn to princes excommunicated.

“We excommunicate all heretic princes, and absolve their subjects from their oaths and duties of allegiance.

We absolve all subjects of England from the oaths they have taken to Elizabeth their queen.”

See Sir Richard Steel’s Appendix.

“Mr. de Voltaire, in his “Treatise on Religious Toleration,” has supplied us with similar extracts, from some of the Romish authors; but he observes, that “the Parliaments of the kingdom had constantly prescribed these abominable tenets of abominable theologues.”

“The Jesuit Busembaum,” (says he,) “on whom the Jesuit La Croix hath written a comment, says, that it is lawful to kill a prince who is excommunicated by the Pope, in whatever country he may be found; because the whole world is under subjection to the Pope; and whoever accepts the commission of the murder, undertakes a very pious and charitable work.”

It is this proposition, invented certainly in the most raging

place of hell, which hath chiefly excited the people in **France** against the Jesuits. Being particularly reproached with ~~that~~ tenet, so often taught, and so often disavowed by them, they thought to justify themselves, by pointing out some decisions nearly similar in St. Thomas, and other jacobins. In fact, St. Thomas Aquinas, "the angelic doctor and interpreter of the divine will," (such were his titles,) advances, "That an apostate prince loses his right to the crown, and ought not to be obeyed—that the Church may furnish him with death; and that the Emperor Julian was tolerated, only through the want of power to depose him—that every heretic ought of right to be destroyed—that those who deliver the subjects of a prince who governs tyrannically, are very commendable persons, &c. &c." He was greatly respected; but if he had come into France in the times of Jaques Clement, or of Ravillae, to maintain these propositions, the people would have made a pretty devil of our angelic doctor.

"It must be confessed that Gerson, chancellor of the university, went still farther than St. Thomas; and the Cordelier Jean Petit infinitely farther than Gerson, while many of his fraternity maintained his horrible tenets. It must be owned also, that the diabolical doctrine of king-killing took its rise solely from the ridiculous notion long entertained by the monks, that the Pope was a God upon earth, who might dispose at pleasure of the lives and sceptres of kings. We have been in this respect much beneath the Tartars, who believe in the immortality of the Grand Lama. He distributes among them his close-stool, the reliques of which they dry, carve, and kiss most devoutly. For my own part, I protest I could rather, for the sake of peace, carry about my neck such reliques as these, than believe that the Pope had the least authority over the temporalities of kings, or even over mine, in any case whatever."

FINIS.



